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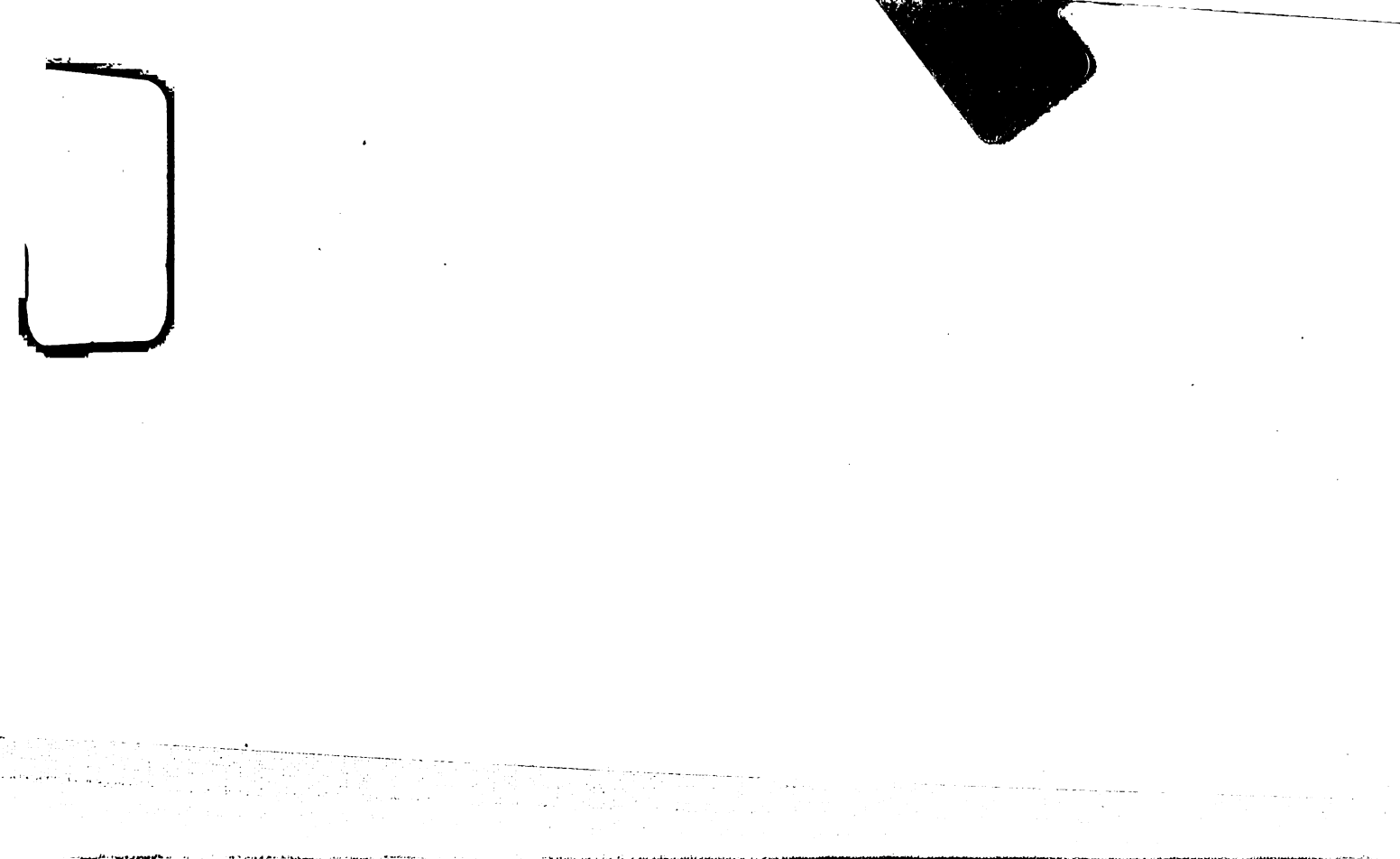

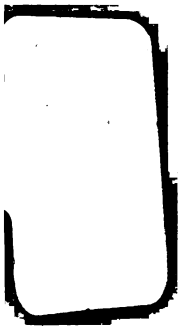

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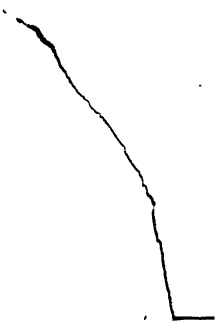

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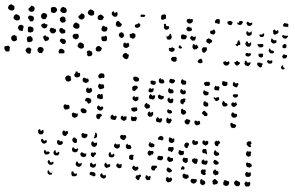
The present volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton.



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LETTERS FROM SYRIA AND PALESTINE BEFORE THE AGE OF MOSES.

BY ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, M.A.

[An Address delivered at the Manchester Town Hall, November 8th, 1889.]

A MARVELLOUS discovery has recently been made in Egypt, so marvellous, indeed, that had a prophet arisen to predict it to our fathers or our grandfathers they would have listened to him with scornful incredulity. We have been suddenly brought face to face with the civilised world as it existed in the days when the Israelites were groaning under the burdens of their Egyptian taskmasters; we can handle the very letters that were written by the princes and governors of Canaan when as yet Joshua was unborn, and we can trace the course of events that led to the mission of Moses and the exodus of Israel out of Egypt.

On the eastern bank of the Nile, about midway between Minieh and Siût, the two leading towns of Upper Egypt, is a long line of mounds, known to the natives under the name of Tel el-Amarna. The mounds cover the ruins of a city which played a short but important part in Egyptian history. Let me explain briefly what this was.

When Jacob and his sons entered the land of Egypt, the northern portion of the country was under the rule of foreign

conquerors who had come from Asia. It was natural that they should offer a welcome to their kinsfolk from the same region of the world. But not long after the settlement of the children of Israel in the land of Goshen the native Egyptian princes of the south succeeded, after three or four generations of warfare, in expelling the foreigner and in founding what is known as the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. The monarchs of the Eighteenth Dynasty were able and enterprising men, and, not content with driving the foreign conqueror out of their own country, followed him into his. Town after town fell before their arms, Egyptian garrisons were planted in Canaan and Syria, and eventually the limits of the Egyptian empire were fixed upon the banks of the Euphrates. Here they were in contact with a kingdom which bore the name of Mitanni, but which was called by the Egyptians Nahrina, "(the land of) the rivers," the Aram-Naharaim or "Aram of the Two Rivers" of the Old Testament. You will remember that the first oppressor of Israel after the death of Joshua was a king of Aram-Naharaim, Chushan-rish-athaim by name. The kingdom of Aram-Naharaim lay on the eastern side of the Euphrates, opposite Carchemish the Hittite capital and Pethor the city of Balaam, and was destined to exercise an important influence upon the fortunes not only of Egypt, but of the children of Israel as well.

The Eighteenth Dynasty had ruled for more than a hundred years with undiminished splendour, when the throne was occupied by a king called Amenôphis III. During his long reign of thirty-six years, the prosperity of Egypt reached its climax. Palestine and Phœnicia were provinces of the empire, and, though the northern states of Syria were still allowed to be governed by their own kings, Egyptian garrisons were established in their midst, and the kings were merely vassals of the Egyptian crown, like the

tributary princes of modern India. The first independent sovereign, with whom the Egyptian monarch found himself in contact, was the king of Mitanni or Aram-Naharaim.

We need not be surprised, therefore, that Amenôphis took the daughter of the king of Mitanni for a wife. Her name was Teie, and she proved to be a woman of strong and remarkable character. She brought with her her Asiatic prejudices and beliefs, and more especially her religious faith in the supreme Baal, who revealed himself in the sun, and was worshipped in Syria under the form of the solar orb. The Egyptian court soon became filled with Asiatic priests and favourites. The native Egyptian officials were displaced, and even the governors of Palestine now began to bear Semitic names and to trace their descent from the Canaanitish people over whom they were set to rule. When Amenôphis died, the Asiatic tendency of the court became still more apparent. His son and successor, Amenôphis IV., was wholly under the influence of his mother and the Asiatic courtiers who surrounded her. He married another princess of Mitanni, and it was not long before he publicly renounced the religion of his forefathers and declared himself an adherent of his mother's creed. But his efforts at proselytising met with little success. The powerful priesthood of Thebes, the Egyptian capital, proved too strong for the king, and he retired northward with his court and the converts to the new faith, and there built himself a new capital, the ruins of which are now marked by the mounds of Tel el-Amarna. In the centre of the city rose the temple of the solar orb, while the royal palace stood among its gardens at the northern end, and the cliffs and sandhills, which form an amphitheatre round the old town, were pierced with the tombs of his servants and courtiers. Amenôphis IV., who had assumed the name of Khu-n-Aten, "the glory of the solar orb," does not appear to have lived very long

after the foundation of his new capital. When he died he left no sons behind him; the country was disturbed by religious and civil troubles, and the two or three kings who followed him had the briefest of brief reigns. When order was again restored, it was by a prince who represented the national party and the native religion; the worship of the solar orb was suppressed, the foreign officials were expelled, and the capital of Khu-n-Aten was deserted. From that time to this Tel el-Amarna has remained a heap of ruins.

Two years and a half ago, when coming down the Nile in a dahabiah, I stopped at a rocky promontory which shuts in the plain of Tel el-Amarna on the north, in order to examine some ancient tombs which are excavated in the cliff. In the course of my exploration, I noticed in the plain below me the foundations of a large building, which had just been laid bare by the natives. My curiosity was excited; so I made my way down the cliff, and found that the remains were evidently those of a palace. They were on too extensive a scale to represent the house of a private individual, while the fact that they were of brick and not of stone proved that they could not have belonged to a temple. A few months afterwards the natives, still going on with their work of disinterment, discovered among the foundations a number of clay tablets covered with characters the like of which had not previously been seen in the land of Egypt. The tablets soon found their way into the hands of a European who recognised that the characters were the cuneiform characters of Assyria and Babylon. Unfortunately, I was not in Egypt the winter the discovery was made. When I next visited the country, a year later, the importance of the discovery had begun to be realised, and the representatives of different museums were bidding one against the other for the possession of the tablets. Eventually, about one hundred and sixty of them were acquired

by the museum of Berlin, about eighty were purchased for the British Museum, a few were obtained by private individuals, while the rest were secured by the Boulaq Museum at Cairo. The only tablets I was able to see were some half-obliterated ones belonging to M. Bouriant, the learned director of the French school in Cairo. I copied these as well as their imperfect condition allowed, and found that they consisted of letters and despatches, written in Babylonian characters, and in the language of Babylon. But they contained no clear indication of date.

The date, however, was soon settled by an examination of the tablets which had found their way to Berlin. Some of these were addressed to Amenôphis III. and Amenôphis IV., kings of Egypt; while upon one of them was a note in Egyptian to the effect that the documents had once formed part of the royal archives, which had been transferred from Thebes to the new capital of Khu-n-Aten at Tel el-Amarna. Furthermore, among the collection were discovered letters from kings of Assyria and Babylonia, whose names and dates were already known to us from their own monuments. These letters showed that they must have been written about 1430 B.C., or about a hundred years earlier than the date assigned by Egyptologists to the exodus.

It was sufficiently startling to learn that at this early period of history, the chief sovereigns of the civilised world, separated though they were from one another by vast tracts of country, were nevertheless carrying on an active correspondence. But a greater surprise was yet to come. Not only did the kings of Assyria and Babylonia correspond with the Egyptian monarch in the language and writing of their own country, a continuous literary intercourse in the same language and writing was being carried on throughout the whole length and breadth of Western Asia. The archives of Tel el-Amarna contain letters and despatches from the

Egyptian governors of Palestine and Syria, from the vassal princes of northern Syria and Kappadokia, and from the independent rulers of Mesopotamia. In short, the whole civilised world of the east was as closely knit together in literary intercourse as we are in these modern days of the penny post. Nothing could happen in the distant north or far orient without its being immediately communicated to the Egyptian court. Even the sickness of an official or the planting of some trees were considered events sufficiently important to be the subject of a despatch.

With hardly an exception, all the letters and despatches are in the language and complicated script of Babylonia. The Babylonian language, in fact, had become the common language of diplomacy and educated society, just as Latin was in the Middle Ages, or as French has been in recent years. The Syrian or Egyptian gentleman was required to learn Babylonian as the gentleman of to-day is required to learn French. But between learning Babylonian and learning French there is a wide difference. In order to read and write French it is needful to learn only an alphabet of twenty-six letters; whereas the Babylonian language was expressed by means of a complicated syllabary, each character of which consisted of a number of perplexing wedges, and denoted, not an alphabetic sound, but a syllable. Instead of consisting only of twenty-six letters, it contained more than six hundred different characters, and every one of these represented more than one phonetic value, and could, moreover, be used ideographically to express an idea. The forms of the characters, furthermore, were not yet fixed; the number and arrangement of the wedges in each varied with the usage of different centuries and the caprice of different individuals. It was often as difficult to decipher a Babylonian's handwriting as it is to decipher the worst handwriting that passes through the modern post.

To learn such a syllabary, even apart from the language which it embodied, implies years of labour and education. It implies, moreover, the existence of teachers and scholars, as well as of schools and libraries. All over the eastern world there must have been schools and universities and libraries stored with books on papyrus and the more imperishable clay.

Is not this a startling discovery? Before the age of the exodus, before the birth of Moses, we find the whole oriental world reading and writing, founding libraries, and learning foreign languages, and closely united in an active literary correspondence! Consider for one moment what an important bearing such a discovery must have upon the criticism of the Old Testament. We have hitherto taken it for granted that the world of Moses was narrow and circumscribed, that a knowledge of letters was confined to a few in the cultivated kingdoms of Egypt and Babylonia, and that the populations of Canaan were as illiterate as the populations of Europe in the Middle Ages. Suddenly the veil has been drawn aside which has for centuries hidden that ancient world from our eyes, and we find it a world much like our own, educated and literary, constantly informed of all that was passing in the countries around it, and enjoying an advantage which we no longer possess—that of a common medium of literary intercourse.

The cities of Canaan must have had more than one library in their midst, filled, like the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia, with books of clay. The letters written from Canaan are often not in the purest Assyrian, the writers having intermingled Canaanitish words and grammatical forms with the foreign language they were using. But this is only what we should expect in the case of a language that has been learnt for literary purposes; and it indicates not only that the writers were of Canaanitish origin, but also that they had

studied the language of Assyria and Babylonia in Canaanitish schools. The schools must have existed in the close neighbourhood of a library. One such library we know of in southern Canaan. When the Israelites entered the Promised Land, one of their earliest conquests was the city of Debir, also called, we are told, Kirjath-Sepher, or "Book-town." Since Debir denotes "the sanctuary" or "oracle" of a temple, we may conclude that its library was, like the libraries of Babylonia, established in the chamber of a consecrated temple. It may be that its ruins are still lying under the friendly earth, awaiting the spade of the excavator. Clay tablets do not perish like papyrus or parchment, and we may gather from the words of Scripture that, after the capture of the old City of Books, its site was allowed to lie desolate and forsaken. Who can even imagine the revelations that its clay records may have in store for us if ever they are found? and found they may be if only proper search be made for them. The *tels* which cover the buried cities of Judah have long been crying, though in vain, for the excavator; the religious public have looked on while the disciples of ancient art and history have been reconstructing with the spade the past history of Greece and Rome, of Egypt and Assyria, and it is time that they, too, should bestir themselves, and wrest from the soil of the Holy Land the secrets that it holds.

Hard by Kirjath-Sepher, "the city of books," stood the ancient sanctuary of Hebron. We are told in the book of Numbers that it was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt (Numbers xiii. 22). Here were the tombs of Abraham and Isaac; here, too, was the meeting-place of various tribes—of the Hittites, who sold the sepulchre of Machpelah to Abraham; of the Amorites, who had marched forth with him when he rescued Lot; and of the Anakim or Canaanites, whom Judah destroyed. It was, in fact, a venerable shrine

where men of different nationalities worshipped together and combined to form a confederated state. But the name of Hebron, which means "a confederacy," is not found on the monuments of Egypt. One of the great kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Thothmes III., has left us a list of the towns of Palestine which he had conquered and occupied; and though, as Mr. Tomkins has shown, several of them represent hamlets and villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Hebron, the name of the great sanctuary itself does not occur. The mystery is explained by some of the tablets which have been discovered at Tel el-Amarna.

Among the latter are despatches to the king of Egypt from his officers in what, in later times, was the southern part of Judæa. One of these despatches runs as follows:— "To the king my lord, speak thus: Thy servant Aruki says: (at the feet of the king my lord) seven times seven do I prostrate myself. . . . When a raid was made, Melech of the sea-coast (marched) against the country of the king my lord, commanding the forces of the city of Gedor, the forces of the city of Gath, and the forces of the city of Keilah. They seized the country of the king of Rabbah, dependant on the country of the king, which belongs to the *khabiri* (Hebronites or Confederates). And again he destroyed entirely the city of the land of Ururusi, the city of the god Uras, whose name (there) is Marru ('the lord'), the city of the king, dependant on the locality of the men of Keilah, and twelve cities of my king."

The *Khabiri* or "Confederates" are mentioned in another despatch, the commencement of which is unfortunately lost. What is left of it reads thus: "And again the city of Pir(qar), the fortress which is in front of this country, belonging to the king (of Egypt), I made faithful. At that time, the city of Gaza, belonging to the king, which is on the shore of the sea, westward of the country of the cities of Gath and

Carmel, fell away to Urgi and the men of Gath. I rode in my chariot (?) for the second time, and we marched up (out of Egypt). Lab-api and the country which thou possessest (went over) for the second time to the men (of Hebron), the Confederates of Melech-ariel and he took (their) sons as hostages (?). At the same time, he uttered their requests to the men of the district of Kirjath, and we defended the city of Ururusi. The men of the garrison, whom thou hadst left in it, were collected by Apis, my messenger. Addasi-rakan, in his house in the city of Gaza, (sent messengers) to the land of Egypt."

It is clear from these letters that the name of Hebron or "Confederacy" was merely a title derived from the fact that it formed the centre of a number of federated tribes who called themselves the *Khabiri* or Confederates. Its real name, in pre-Israelitish days, has to be sought elsewhere. In the Old Testament we are told that it was once known as Kirjath-Arba, "the city of Arba," and it is possible that the Kirjath of the despatch I have just been reading to you means the Kirjath of Arba. However this may be, there are reasons for believing that in the list of Palestinian towns given by Thothmes III. Hebron is designated by a name which has for us a special interest. In the centre of the group of towns and villages, the sites of which encircle Hebron, mention is made of the town of Yaqab-el, "Jacob is God." The town was a sanctuary, and, as we know of no other sanctuary in the close vicinity of Hebron besides Hebron itself, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in the name of Yaqab-el we have a reminiscence not only of the Israelitish patriarch, but also of his connection with the great Canaanitish sanctuary of Hebron.

The despatches I have read contain much that is worthy of comment. When it is remembered that they are the actual documents written in the land of the Philistines more

than a hundred years before the Israelitish invasion of Canaan, every word they contain is worthy of attention. They are like a voice from the dead, telling us of men and things whose very names had faded from the recollection of mankind, when the first king was anointed over Israel. We seek in vain in later history for the name of Ururusi, which appears as a city of equal importance with Gath and Gaza, with Gedor and Keilah. It is specially described as the seat of the worship of the chief god of the Philistines, Marru or Marnas, a word familiar to us in the *maran-atha*, "our Lord cometh," of the New Testament. Equally interesting is the name of Melech-ariel, "Moloch is Ariel," for here we have the old title which was applied to Jerusalem by Isaiah, and which was interpreted by the prophet, "lion of God."

Keilah is known to us in Old Testament times chiefly through the history of David. With the consolidation of David's kingdom its importance died away, and it seems to have sunk into the condition of a mere village. But in the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty it evidently occupied an important position. Let us listen, for instance, to a letter addressed to the Egyptian monarch by a certain Su-arda-ka, who had been appointed governor of Keilah: "To the king my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, by letter I speak, even Su-arda-ka, thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, seven times seven do I prostrate myself. The king of . . . set himself to make war. In the city of Keilah he made war against thee for the third time; the news of it was brought to me. My city that belongs to me (adhered) to me. Ebed-tob (then) sent to the men of Keilah. He sent fourteen pieces of silver, and they marched against my rear, and they overran the domains of the king my lord. Keilah, my city, did Ebed-tob remove from my jurisdiction. The pleasure-park (?) of the king my lord, and the fortress of Baal-nathan, and

the fortress of Hamor (the Amorite) he removed from his presence and his justice. Lab-api, the halting in speech, occupied the fortress of . . . ninu, and when Lab-api, along with Ebed-tob and (his companions) had occupied the fortress of . . . ninu, the king sent to his servant."

We learn from other letters that Lab-api, like Ebed-tob, was an Egyptian official, but the officers of the Egyptian king seem to have been constantly intriguing against one another with the help of the vassal princes or petty "kings" of the Canaanitish states, and a considerable part of the collection found at Tel el-Amarna consists of the complaints and charges they brought against each other. The king must have had enough to do to keep them all in order. One of the tablets now at Berlin is a letter from Lab-api, in which he defends himself against certain accusations that had been made to the king concerning him, possibly by his colleague Su-arda-ka.

Two points in the despatch of the latter deserve special notice. One is the way in which the writer addresses the Egyptian monarch. He calls him, it will be observed, "my lord, my gods, my Sun-god." The same mode of address is usual in other letters from Palestine, and we may therefore regard it as characteristically Canaanitish. Now the title of Sun-god was one to which the sovereigns of Egypt were well accustomed. From time immemorial they had claimed to be not only sons of the Sun, but incarnations of the Sun-god himself. But the title of "gods" was one to which we can find no parallel on the Egyptian monuments. It reminds us of the words, "I have said, ye are gods," applied by the Psalmist to the judges of Judah (Psalm lxxxii. 6). But it reminds us still more forcibly of a curious usage of the language of the Old Testament, about which tomes have been written and antagonistic theories have been framed. In the Hebrew of the Old Testament the God of Israel is

usually denoted, not by a singular noun, but by the plural *Elohim*, "gods." It is strange to find on the tablets of Tel el-Amarna that the same use of the plural "gods," in a singular sense, was known in Canaan long before the Children of Israel entered the country. When we remember that Hebrew was "the language of Canaan," and that the Canaanites and their Israelitish conquerors spoke the same tongue, we cannot refuse to see in the Hebrew use of the plural *Elohim*, not a modern innovation contrary to the spirit of the language and startling to its readers, but an ancient usage which had been consecrated by custom from early days.

There is a second point in the letter of Su-arda-ka which cannot be passed over. He alludes in it to "the fortress of Hamor." Now Hamor is properly the Hebrew word for "ass," like its Assyrian equivalent *'emer;* but by one of those plays upon words, of which the writers of the Old Testament are so fond, it is substituted in the book of Genesis for the name of 'Amor or Amorite (Genesis xxxiv. compared with xlviii. 22). Precisely the same substitution is to be found in the despatch of the Egyptian governor. He, too, plays upon the name of the fortress which stood within the boundaries of the Amorites of the south, and terms it the fortress of Emer "the ass," instead of *Emer* or *Amur*, "the Amorite." It was a jest at the expense of the Amorites, which seems to have been current in ancient Canaan.

How ready the officials in Palestine were to write to their Egyptian master, and how trifling were the occasions on which they did so, may be judged from the following letter, which appears to have been sent from Ashkelon:—"To the king my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, the Sun-god who (rises) from the divine heaven is his name!—Pitya, of the city of Ashkelon, thy servant, the dust that is beneath thy feet, the groom of thy horses; at the sole of the feet of the

king my lord, seven times seven do I fall. Thou art glorious and supreme; and now I guard the place of the king, which (has been ıtrusted) to me, and all the despatches of the king my lord to me have been obeyed quite fully. But the Calebite has not yet obeyed the command of the king his lord, the son of the Sun-god."

The last words are interesting, as they bear witness to the existence of Calebites, or men belonging to the "Dog"-tribe, in southern Judæa before the days when the biblical Caleb settled there. Perhaps this may explain the length and complication of the genealogies connected with the names of Caleb and Chelubai, "the man of the Dog-tribe," in the first book of Chronicles. I ought to mention, however, that in another letter of Pitya, which I copied in Egypt, the name of the "Calebite" is replaced by the words "the minister of the king."

The authority of Egypt extended to the eastern side of the Jordan. Mr. Tomkins had already come to the conclusion that two of the towns mentioned in the list of Thothmes III. were famous cities of Bashan; one of them, Astartu, being Ashteroth Karnaim, while another preserved the name of the Rephaim who, in the days of Abraham, dwelt in Ashteroth. Mr. Tomkins' conclusion has been abundantly confirmed. Among the letters of Tel el-Amarna is one from the Egyptian governor of "the plain of Bashan," relating to the troops that had been sent to him to garrison the country. It was to the west and north of Bashan, however, in Phœnicia, and on the slopes of the Lebanon, that the Egyptian power was the most firmly established. In Phœnicia the Egyptian governor bore the name of Rib-Hadad, and was assisted by two lieutenants, Yapa-Hadad and Aziru—the Ezer of Scripture—while the cities of Syria were placed under the control of Ebed-Asherah and his sons. The despatches from Rib-Hadad and his associates are numerous

and lengthy. They are written in a peculiar hand, and on clay of a light yellow colour, so that it is easy to distinguish them from the other tablets of the collection. We hear in them of many cities whose names have been made familiar to us by holy writ; Tyre and Sidon and Acre are all referred to, and even the name of Megiddo, in the centre of Canaan, occurs more than once. At this period of history, however, the chief place in the political world of Phœnicia seems to have been occupied by Simyra, a city whose inhabitants are referred to in the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we are told that Canaan begat "the Arvadite and the Zemarite." It may interest you to hear the translation of one of the letters from the northern district of Palestine:—

"To the great (king), the king of the world, the king of (Egypt), I present myself, O creator of everything which (is) great, (I) the servant of the mighty lord, to the king my (lord); at the feet of the king, the Sun-god, seven times seven do I prostrate myself. Verily is the king my lord. Lo, exceedingly powerful is he. Lo, a mouth of judgment exists in thy presence. The men of the city of Simyra belonging to the king are subjects of the king. Lo, the city of Zarak (sends) this report: The four sons of Ebed-Asherah have been captured, and there is no one who has brought the news to the king, as well as counsel. Behold, the servant of thy justice (am) I, and as for thee, what I have heard I have despatched to my lord. A march has been made against the city of Simyra, which is exceedingly strong, like a bird whose nest is built on a precipice. And as for the messengers whom I sent from the house of . . ., I have seen their entrance into the city of Simyra. But Yapa-Hadad did not deposit the merchandise with me. They took, however, the cavalry and the stone of my justice . . , and the divine image, the sceptres and the stone of sovereignty, the god of the oracles of the king, and the king sent word to

them . . . And the son of the servant of the lord and the wife of the father, even the god of heaven and earth, the king, have spoken to the men. . . . (Near) me there was no one at all of them, whether two or three, but the god (even the king) heard the words of the servant of his justice, and the god brought life to his servant, and he enquired into the action of his servant a second time. May he requite (?) (my action) unto me, and may the queen who (is) with thee, and the concubines of the palace (do the same). Verily Aziru and Yapa-Hadad have taken up an attitude of opposition towards me, and have not marched up (the country) any one of them. They held a conference with me. That place of observation belonging to me, which my father, the king, gave me for ever, (implies) the making of words on the part of me, the servant of (thy) justice. And I have rejoiced also within myself at these (words) (which) I have uttered, even I, the dust of thy feet, O king! O father, thy father is not Aziru, he has not girdled the world with his governors, and his prophesying, (and his) god and goddesses. . . . (It is) the work of his servant, and (to defend) the house of thy father the sons of Ebed-Asherah marched against the country of Tarkumiya; and the country of the king belonging to them was seized by the king of the country of Mitana-nanu, and the king of the country of Tarkusi, and the king of the country of the Hittites."

We gather from the last words that the Hittites were already becoming a formidable factor in the politics of Western Asia. They are mentioned on several tablets which tell us more about them, and show that they were already advancing southward from their mountain fastnesses in the north. One of the despatches from Syria informs us that the Hittite king had been captured, another describes their threatened attack on the tributary states of North Syria, and implores the Egyptian monarch to send troops to check

their further progress. They had poured out of their old homes in the ranges of the Taurus, and were beginning to threaten the northern border of the Egyptian empire. It was only the firm hand of the Egyptian power which kept them in check.

But it was not long before the firm hand was withdrawn. The death of Amenôphis IV. was, as I have said, followed by intestine trouble. The religious and national animosities, which had been smouldering during his reign, burst into a flame as soon as he died. There ceased to be a king of Egypt whose sway was undisputed, and the soldiers, who had hitherto guarded the provinces of the empire, were now required in Egypt itself. For awhile the empire of Egypt passed under eclipse, the cities of Canaan recovered their independence, and the princes of Syria were compelled to contend single-handed with the Hittite foe.

When light once more breaks upon the scene, with the rise of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the monuments of Seti and his son Ramses II., the political map of Western Asia has been largely altered. The Hittite invaders have forced their way as far south as the district of Hamath, and have established their southern capital in the sacred city of the Semites, Kadesh on the Orontes. The greater part of northern Syria is in their hands, and the Semites of the east have been cut off from their brethren of the west. The Hittite fortress of Carchemish guards the fords of the Euphrates and the high-road of commerce and war from east to west; the trade, which once filled the coffers of Semitic merchants, now finds its centre within the massive walls of Carchemish. The Hittite has seized the heritage which the Semite had so long enjoyed.

The Hittite conquests put an end to the literary intercourse, of which the tablets of Tel el-Amarna are a record. From henceforward, the Babylonian language and script

ceased to be taught and studied in Syria or Palestine, and despatches on clay ceased to be addressed to the Egyptian court. For awhile the old writing of Babylonia was superseded by the clumsy hieroglyphics of the Hittite invaders, which have been brought to light of recent years. But these hieroglyphics never spread much beyond the Hittite invaders themselves. Before the age of David and Solomon, the simple Phœnician alphabet of twenty-two letters had been introduced, probably from the Delta of Egypt, and from that time to this has continued, in one form or another, to express the thoughts and feelings of the greater part of the civilised world. It was only in Assyria and Babylonia, in the lands of its origin, that the cuneiform syllabary survived.

The tablets of Tel el-Amarna have explained to us the meaning of the revolution in Egypt, which ushered in what is known as the Nineteenth Dynasty. The Nineteenth Dynasty ought to have a special interest for us since Egyptologists have long been agreed that the exodus of Israel must have taken place while it was reigning, and their conclusion has now been brilliantly verified by Mr. Naville's discovery of Pithom, the treasure-city which the Israelites built for the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The third and greatest of the kings of the Dynasty was Ramses II., whom Greek legend magnified into the colossal proportions of a Sesostris. His long reign of sixty-seven years was occupied by wars abroad and building operations at home. Egypt, from one end to another, is filled with the wrecks of the temples and monuments, which he erected to the gods or to the gratification of his own vanity. No architectural conception was too vast or too magnificent for his mind. In Nubia, a temple carved out of a mountain, and guarded by seated images, whose divine calm is equalled only by their gigantic size, still remains to testify to his pride and power. In Zoan of the north, Mr. Petrie has found the shattered

relics of a standing statue that he once erected there, formed of a single block of granite, more than a hundred feet in height. At the two extremities of the land of Goshen, the two cities of Ramses and Pithom, built by Israelitish toil, guarded the eastern approach to the valley of the Nile, and overlooked the fertilising canal by which, long before the days of Lesseps, he had united the waters of the Mediterranean with those of the Red Sea. His mummy now lies in the Boulaq Museum at Cairo, and we can there scan the commanding features and determined lips of the mighty Pharaoh, who ordered the sons of Israel to be cast into the sacred river of Egypt.

The wars of Ramses were mainly in Asia, where for many a long year he endeavoured to drive the Hittites back to their northern homes. Southern Palestine was once more occupied by Egyptian governors, and Egyptian garrisons were again established along the high road into Syria. But the Hittites proved too strong to be dislodged from their southward position on the Orontes, and eventually Ramses was fain to make peace with "the great king" of the Hittite people, and to cement the alliance by marrying the daughter of the Hittite prince. But both Hittites and Egyptians had alike been exhausted by the prolonged struggle. The Hittites never advanced further towards the south, while Egyptian dreams of Asiatic conquest ended with the death of Ramses.

But the chief sufferers from the wars of the Pharaoh were the Canaanites of Palestine. They stood between the two combatants, and their cities were destroyed, or their fields devastated, sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other. Their young men fell by the sword; their trade was diverted to the sea-coast; city after city became an Ai, or "heap of ruins," like the Ai smitten by Joshua near Beth-el.

The way was thus prepared for the Israelitish conquest of

Canaan. The population found there by the Israelitish invaders was a population already enfeebled by the wars of Ramses. It was little prepared to defend itself against the attack of hardy tribes fresh from their life of trial in the wilderness. The Hittite invasion and the Egyptian campaigns had destroyed all power of resistance to a new foe.

Now, I have said that the tablets of Tel el-Amarna explain the meaning of the revolution which led to the rise of that Nineteenth Dynasty of which Ramses II. was the leading figure. They show us that it represented the successful reaction of the national party against the foreign Asiatising tendencies of the last sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It meant the expulsion of the Semitic stranger who had excluded the native Egyptian from the offices of state and even the court of the Pharaoh; it meant the restoration of the national faith and the suppression of the Asiatic religion which Amenôphis IV. had sought to impose upon his unwilling countrymen. There is a close parallel between this revolution and the insurrection of Arabi in our own day. The avowed object of Arabi and his followers was to expel the foreigners who governed Egypt and received the salaries which native Egyptians would have otherwise enjoyed; and behind this avowed object was a further desire to stamp out Christianity and make the religion of Mohammed once more supreme in the valley of the Nile. The revolution of Arabi was unsuccessful; the reaction against Semitic domination which brought about the fall of the Eighteenth Dynasty proved to be a success; that was the chief difference between the two movements. The causes which lay behind them were much the same.

We have many curious evidences of the power and influence to which the Semites of Palestine had attained under the rule of Amenôphis. One of the most curious are

the letters sent by Aziru or Ezer, whose acquaintance we have already made as a lieutenant of Rib-Hadad, in Phœnicia, to his father Dûdu. Now Dûdu is a name of exceptional interest. It occurs in the Old Testament under the form of Dodo, and is etymologically the same as David. Hitherto the name has never been met with outside the Old Testament and the Moabite stone, but since the name of the Phœnician goddess Dido has the same derivation, we know that it must have been used by the Canaanites as well as by the Israelites. It is, however, a name of specifically Palestinian character, and the bearer of it, if not an Israelite, must have been at all events of Canaanitish extraction. And yet it is clear from the letters of Aziru that Dûdu occupied a position next to that of the Pharaoh himself. Though Aziru is his son, he addresses him not only as "father," but also as "lord," a title otherwise reserved for the Egyptian monarch alone. We are reminded that Joseph too had been made ruler over all the land of Egypt; "only in the throne" was the Pharaoh greater than he.

The Semitic domination in Egypt in the latter days of the Eighteenth Dynasty must thus be henceforth regarded as a fact of history. The court was filled with officials who bear Semitic names, the outlying provinces were administered by natives of Palestine and Syria; even the vizier himself has the name of Dûdu, and corresponds with his son in a Semitic language. The fact throws light on what has hitherto been a grave difficulty in the way of accepting the date assigned to the exodus of Israel by Egyptologists—a date, however, which has been necessitated by the progress of Egyptian discovery, more especially by the disinterment of Pithom and its monuments. It has hitherto been supposed that "the new king" of the book of Exodus "which knew not Joseph" was the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the expeller of the foreign Hyksos conquerors who had so long

held northern Egypt under their dominion and had offered hospitality to the patriarchs of Israel. But between the age of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the age of Ramses, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, there was an interval of nearly three centuries. How could such a period be passed over in silence by the sacred historian? The language of Exodus seemed to exclude such a supposition. All is now made clear. The "new king" was not the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the founder of the Nineteenth, the grandfather of Ramses, who was acknowledged as sovereign but a few years before Ramses himself was proclaimed king. Up to the closing days of the Eighteenth Dynasty the Semite was all-powerful in the land of Ham. Dûdu ruled like a second Joseph, and the Pharaoh was a convert to an Asiatic faith. With the rise of the Nineteenth Dynasty all was changed. National hatred wreaked its revenge upon the stranger; the Semitic foreigner was crushed or expelled, and efforts were made to extirpate tribes like the Israelites which had obtained a settlement in the country. There is no longer any discrepancy between the words of the book of Exodus and the date assigned by Egyptology to the exodus itself.

This date has been strikingly confirmed by other evidence supplied by the tablets of Tel el-Amarna. The letters from Palestine show us that in the closing days of the Eighteenth Dynasty that country was still an appanage of the Egyptian crown. Its governors are Egyptian officials or vassal princes; its population is Canaanite. There is as yet no trace of the Israelite in the land. The letters which I have been reading this evening refer to towns, which were among the first conquests of the tribe of Judah; but Judah has not as yet come to rule over them. Hebron still belongs to the League to which it owed its name; Keilah is still subject to an Egyptian governor, and Gedor obeys a Canaanitish chief. The Pales-

tine entered by Joshua was a later and a different Palestine from that of which the Tel el-Amarna letters have to tell us.

We can approximately fix the age of these letters by the names of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, who corresponded with the Egyptian Pharaoh. The names are found on the monuments of Assyria and Babylonia, and the chronological data supplied by the cuneiform texts indicate that they lived about 1430 B.C. This date agrees with that assigned by Egyptian research to Amenôphis IV., and must be accepted as the most exact which we can at present obtain. The exodus out of Egypt, after the death of Ramses, will have happened a little more than a hundred years later. This hundred years was a period fraught with momentous consequences to the Israelitish nation; and through them to the inheritors of the teaching which is enshrined in the Hebrew Scriptures. Long and angry controversies have raged over the date to which it must be referred, controversies which we can now look back upon with the pleasant feeling that they are finally closed.

It is not only the date of the exodus which is affected by the discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna. They bear witness, as I have said, to an age of education and literary intercourse, such as we and our fathers had never dreamed of. The background of history, which lies behind the Israelitish conquest of Canaan, was a background lighted up by scribes and libraries, and abundant stores of contemporaneous literature. Its records were preserved in the libraries of Western Asia, and there were many who could read and study them. This fact alone must have an important bearing on the future criticism of the Old Testament records. We can no longer refuse credit to them on the ground that they relate to an illiterate age, of which oral tradition alone preserved the memory. If we still reject their historical credibility, it must be for other reasons.

The account of the campaign of Chedorlaomer and his Babylonian allies, the list of the kings of Edom, or the history of the oppression of Israel by the king of Aram-Naharaim can as well have been recorded in contemporaneous annals as the chronicles of Tyre, which, as we know from Greek authors, went back to an earlier age than that of David.

It will require time and labour before all the precious relics that have been unearthed from the mounds of Tel el-Amarna are copied and translated. It will require yet more time and labour before the story they have to tell us can be unfolded in all its details. But the broad facts which they indicate, the important bearings that they have upon our conceptions of ancient history and of the Old Testament scriptures, have been acquired by science once for all. In my lecture this evening I have confined myself to the letters which were despatched to the Egyptian court from Palestine, and among these to those letters only which I have myself been able to copy. I have refrained from speaking of the royal missives that came from the kings of Syria and Babylonia, of the *targuman* or "dragoman" sent with them by the king of Mitanni, of the long lists of presents which they name, or of the letters in unknown languages which were written from the country of the Hittites. To describe such letters and their contents would need double the time at my disposal, and the lands to which they refer have little interest save to the enthusiastic student of ancient texts. To most of us the interest of the collection will centre in the documents which throw light on the early condition of Canaan and on one of those events which have long been regarded as the turning-points of history. A bridge has been thrown, as it were, across the deep chasm which has divided us from the age of the exodus, and we can study the life and feelings, the hopes

and fears of the men who created history in that long-past day. When all the letters of Tel el-Amarna are fully read we shall know something at last about the causes which led up to the settlement of Israel in Canaan and the message it was empowered to deliver to mankind.

And yet more. The clay library of Tel el-Amarna was but one out of many clay libraries that existed at the time when it was formed. They cannot all have perished. Even in the damp climate of Palestine and Syria the clay record will remain when papyrus and parchment and even stone will decay and crumble. A lucky chance has revealed to us the texts of Tel el-Amarna at a moment when their value can be understood and their contents can be deciphered. Systematic search ought to reveal to us those other libraries which still lie beneath the soil waiting for the spade of the excavator. Egypt was but the land to which the clay missives were sent, the lands from which they came have still to yield up their dead. If the tablets of Tel el-Amarna had nothing else to teach us, this lesson alone would be sufficient: we are but at the beginning of discovery, and our children, if not ourselves, are destined to rescue from their graves the written monuments of a reviving past. The Egyptian peasant in his ignorance has exhumed for us the tablets of Tel el-Amarna, it remains for us in our knowledge to discover for ourselves the libraries to which they point.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE COAL-MINING RECORDS.

BY HENRY THOMAS CROFTON.

PREFACE.

IT is not intended in this paper to deal with coalmining from a geological or engineering point of view, nor to do more than try to fill a void by assembling in chronological order materials for an interesting but strangely neglected chapter in the history of Lancashire and Cheshire. These records, which are gleaned from many printed and original sources, will be left in a great measure to tell their own tale, and will show how very gradually it was that coal became an article of importance in the trade of our counties palatine.

It is remarkable that, although such quantities of coal lay so close at hand, even a local use of it was for long exceedingly limited, and turf remained the chief fuel of both counties. The records and disputes relating to this much inferior material are common enough, but early records relating to coal are astonishingly few.

The reasons why turf was preferred are, however, not far to seek. It was largely owing, no doubt, to the large tracts of moss land, which supplied the inhabitants with a fuel easily procured without detriment to agricultural land.

Coal would probably be obtained first by "drifts," "day-eyes," or "breast-highs" in those places where the seam cropped out at the surface of a hillside, in those parts of the country where turf was less accessible, and next, in those places where it could be delved or dug by quarry-like openings, called delfs, in waste grounds belonging to the lord of the manor. The tenants of agricultural land would not be entitled to open delfs to get minerals, such as coal, without first arranging with the lord of the manor for the payment of a royalty, while common rights might interfere with explorations in waste lands. Preference may also have been given to turf as fuel on account of its more aromatic and less sulphurous smoke in those days of draughty, chimneyless rooms, and also on account of its not requiring wood to ignite it, and of its smouldering qualities, which rendered less attention necessary when once it was alight. In early days coal was probably most used in burning lime, which was transported on the backs of "lime-gals" (galloway ponies), for building places of importance or for manure. For ordinary buildings "daub" was largely used in the post and pattern style of architecture then in vogue, and marl, which contains some of the fertilising qualities of lime, was more commonly used as manure.

There was another very singular imaginary advantage about turf, namely, that folks thought that it grew again. This odd superstition lasted until at least the end of the seventeenth century.

An instance of it occurs in Mr. Edward Moore's amusing *Liverpool Rental* (Cheth. Soc., vol. xii., p. 72), where, in 1667, he remarks for the guidance of his successors: "When you get this watercourse opened it will make the turf room so dry that you may sell fifty pounds worth at least of turf to the town in a year, for of my knowledge you have good black turf at least four yards deep; if so it may be worth

two hundred pounds an acre and you have ten acres of it, and if you leave half a yard of the bottom ungotten, once in forty years it swells and grows again."

This superstition is akin to that which, I believe, still flourishes with regard to "*living* rock." I well remember when a child being told that "in the Lakes" a church was built against a rock which grew so quickly into the church that they had to keep cutting it away. The church at Buttermere has always been associated in my mind with this legend.

In the enquiries or inquisitions formerly held after the death of persons with regard to their heirs and possessions, little notice was taken of the mineral resources of the deceased's property. We constantly find messuages, mills, fisheries, gardens, orchards, land, meadow, pasture, wood, underwood, briar, moor, moss, turbary, furze, heath, and marsh set down, but very seldom any mention of coalmines, even in places where they must have been of considerable importance, such as at Wigan, Bolton, Tyldesley, Hulton, Padiham, &c.

The following examples of records relating to the use of turf by the upper classes may be of interest.

In 1349, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, gave the Abbot and Convent of Whalley dys charrez des tourbes [ten cartloads of turf] (Whitaker, *Hist. of Whalley*, 4th ed., vol. i., p. 97).

In 1513, an agreement was made for "cc cartloads of deep turves from Werburton Moss" (Beamont's *Arley Charters*, p. 38).

The inventory of Sir Alex. Osbaudeston, of Osbaldeston, co. Lancaster, Knt., who died January 17th, 1543, mentions "turfwaynes, cartes" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 54).

On January 16th, 5 Edward VI. [1547], Robert Cock, prest of Assheton-under-Lyme, gave to Sir Edwarde Heape

"all my turves and my byrches shides lying in my chambre" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 105).

The inventory dated May 21st, 1573, of Dame Anne Langton, includes "two turffespades wth irens xviij^{d}," and "ffyftene score lodes of black turves v^{li}" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. liv., pp. 61, 62).

In August, 1574, Robart Entwysle, of the ffoxholes in the towne of Hunnersfelde, Rochdale, disposes of "a paire of turve waine boughes" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 222).

Robert Tatton, of Withinshaw, in his will dated December 10th, 1578, says, "I geve to my wieff sufficient turbarie uppon my mosse rowme at Shadowe Mosse, and belonginge to my man&on housse called the Pele" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. liv., p. 94).

The will dated June 15th, 1588, of Edward Osbaldeston, of Osbaldeston, disposes of "one turfe wayne of the best wth wheeles, teames, horsegeare" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 75); so, too, Edward Scarisbricke, of Scarisbricke, on April 20th, 1599, disposed by his will of "two turfe waynes furnished wth whiles and axeltries" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. liv., p. 9).

Turf was, however, not merely used for household purposes, as is shown by an indenture dated October 20th, 1618, which reserved to the lessor a right yearly to "dig and carry away 200 loads of turves out of the moss and turbary at Livesaye to be spent and burned at the kiln appertaining to the mill for the drying of corn to be ground at the same mill" (*Lanc. Inquis.*, L. and C. Record Soc., vol. xvi., p. 279).

Those who feel an interest in the *History of Coalmining in Great Britain* cannot do better than consult the valuable work of Mr. Galloway, published in 1882. The following passages are extracted from his mine:—

"Cæsar does not mention coal amongst British treasures, but there is little doubt that it was worked to some extent before the Romans arrived in Britain. Pennant records a flint axe as having been found in a coal vein in Monmouthshire,* and small quantities of coal and coal ashes have been found among the ruins of many of the Roman stations in Britain."

"The twelfth century was far advanced, if not quite ended, before we meet with any reliable indications of a commencement having been made to bring mineral coal into use."

"In the early Norman era the internal arrangements of common dwelling-houses precluded the use of coal for domestic purposes. Chimneys were unknown in the houses of the common people. The walls were of wood, and the fire-place consisted of a cavity in the centre of the floor, which was covered over when the fire was out. The smoke pervaded the whole apartment, and made its escape by a hole in the roof or by the doorway" (p. 3).

"By 1307 coal was being dug, though doubtless on only a small scale, in most of the coal fields of England, Wales, and Scotland" (p. 8).

"The only patrons at first were smiths and limeburners, and its use gradually spread to other artificers who used furnaces, such as brewers and dyers" (p. 9).

"At the beginning of the fourteenth century the coal trade was growing to a small extent on the estuary of the Dee, and small workings at many points in the interior supplied the coal required in their own immediate neighbourhood."

"Coal was bought for use by the smiths and limeburners in the erection of Caernarvon and Beaumaris Castles" (p. 11).

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* At Craig-y-parc. See Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 1784, i. 17.

"Iron firegrates or chimneys were introduced for household purposes and could be moved from room to room, and were considered such important pieces of furniture that they were frequently entailed by will upon son after son in succession" (p. 13).

"About the middle of the sixteenth century, Dr. Kaye or Keys (the founder of Caius College, Cambridge) speaks of coal pits in the northern parts of Britain, 'the unwholesome vapour whereof is so pernicious to the hired labourers that it would immediately destroy them if they did not get out of the way as soon as the flame of their lamps becomes blue and is consumed'" (p. 27).

"At that time the miner's tools consisted of a pick, hammer and wedge, and a wooden shovel. A windlass raised the buckets or baskets to the surface, and it was taken away in ordinary wains or in panniers on horseback" (p. 27).

The following quaint quotation from Mr. Galloway's book must end this preface: "During the seventeenth century, where gas was suspected, the air was tried by lowering a dog down the shaft, which began to howl as soon as it entered the choke-damp, or by lowering down a candle, which was extinguished if gas was present. In Scotland, at this time, if colliers were overcome by the gas a hole was dug in the earth, and the colliers were laid on their bellies with their mouths in it, and, if that failed as a remedy, they tunned them full of good ale, but if that failed they concluded them desperate" (pp. 69, 70).

RECORDS ANTERIOR TO A.D. 1500.

Turning now to Lancashire and Cheshire, it is to be noted that coal crops to the surface at many places, and its combustible qualities must pretty certainly have been known at a very early date. Lancashire is believed to have had the honour of giving the name "cannel" to that peculiar kind of

coal which burns like a "candle" (see Murray's *New English Dictionary*). Our coal, however, did not enjoy the same fortunate position as Newcastle of nearness to a good harbour, with a multitude of sea-coast places of importance at hand as customers for a cheaply-carried fuel. London made Newcastle, and originated the well-known adage about the uselessness of taking coals thither.

Whitaker, in his *Hist. of Manchester*, states that several pieces of coal were found in the sand beneath the Roman road at Quay Street, Manchester, and some thirty or forty pieces with a quantity of slack were found in the same sand sixty yards west of the road.

In the Castlefield, Manchester, in a pit three or four feet deep near the Roman road, actual cindery dross of a considerable coal fire was found, and close at hand a section of the Roman road showed a remarkable seam of black rubbish which contained cinders mixed with some weighty metallic substance" (Bk. i., ch. ix., pp. 302-5).

Coal abounds in Rossendale almost throughout its entire extent, and has probably been got in quantities more or less for about three hundred years. Old workings, regarding which no records are known to exist, are often met with in the mines at present being worked. Some of these are of considerable extent. Rude implements of labour, chiefly wooden shovels, are occasionally met with in these deserted excavations (*Hist. Soc. of L. and C.*, vol. vii., N.S., p. 41).

The late Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, in his *Roman Lancashire* (Liverpool, 1883, p. 226), says: "From discoveries of stores of mineral coal (and also heaps of cinders) in various Roman stations and villas throughout the kingdom, especially at Wroxeter and on the Northumbrian Wall, it is certain that the Romans were acquainted with that fuel, and it might be expected that traces of their mining operations would be plentiful in such a coal-producing county as

Lancashire. Such, however, is not the case. Possibly the great development of coalmining during the last few centuries has effectually obliterated all traces of the earlier workings, or it may be that, with the exception of collecting surface coal, the Romans found it easier to use up the wood of the dense forests that then existed than to sink shafts. One instance of their mining operations may, however, I think, be detected. In 1863 some operatives were removing portions of a steep knoll in front of the Plough Inn at Werneth, near Oldham. Eighteen feet of soil had to be removed. About twenty pit shafts were discovered, each sunk down to the bottom of the floor clay of what is known as the 'Dirt Mine.' The pits were all filled up, and in the mound, which had accumulated on the top, trees had grown evidently for a long period. The width of the shafts at the top was about four or five feet, but they widened out when they got down to the coal, forming a bell shape downwards, the bottom edges nearly penetrating to the adjacent shafts. They were from eighteen to twenty feet deep on this part of the estate, but varied according to the depth of the mine, which outcrops in Lee Street. Altogether about sixty shafts have been discovered in various parts of the estate, known as the Coppice, during the time that excavations were carried on there. Among the *débris*, with which the shafts were filled, portions of what appeared to be burnt ashes were found, also fragments of burnt clay or tile resembling furnace refuse. These shafts were previously totally unknown in the neighbourhood. Neither tradition nor written record had preserved any remembrance of them. They seem to be somewhat similar to some old coal workings at Benwell, on the Northumbrian Wall" (*Manch. Scientific Students' Assoc. Reports*, 1879, p. 86). Much the same system was pre-historically adopted in excavating for flints in bell-like holes in Kent.

It is almost unnecessary to say that charcoal used to be commonly called "coal," and that what we now call "coal" was more generally termed "sea-coal." It is, however, necessary to guard against errors from this variation in meaning, and charcoal is most probably referred to in the three next instances.

In 1251, the convent of Furness exchanged with William de Merton part of their land in the fields of Merton and Orgrave, namely, nine acres at *Colestub* and Stermanwra (*Furness Coucher Book*, vol. ii., p. 298; Cheth. Soc., N.S., vol. xi.).

In 1269, Roger, son of William of Bardsey, gave to Furness Abbey an acre and three perches at *Colepittes* in Aldefelde, in the territory of Bardsey (*op. cit.*, p. 445).

In 1276, in the settlement of a dispute between the convent of Furness and Roger de Lancaster, occurs "tres acræ apud *Colepot*-hyrstis inter Broghtone-hevede et Broghton-bec quas Robertus Curtays tenere solebat" (*op. cit.* 384).

In the compotus or rent-roll of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, for the year September 29th, 1295, to September 29th, 1296 (23 Edward I.), amongst receipts from Trochdene (Trawden, near Colne) is one of "x^{s} de carbonibus marinis" *i.e.*, for sea-coals (Cheth. Soc., vol. cxii., pp. 4, 119), and from Clivacher (Cliviger, near Burnley) "iij^{d} de carbonibus marinis, venditis ibidem," *i.e.*, for sea-coals sold there (pp. 12, 124), and in the rent-roll, from March 30th to September 29th, 1305, from Colne, "xvj^{s} de carbonibus marinis ibidem," for sea-coals there (pp. 100, 176).

On the 5th July, 1310, King Edward II. granted to William le Boteler, of Warrington, and Robert le Norays, towards repairing and maintaining the bridges of Warrington and Sankey, customs or tolls on all articles brought over those bridges for sale, and amongst them, for every cartload of coals a halfpenny, for every thousand turves a farthing,

for every cartload of wood a halfpenny, and for every hundred faggots of wood a farthing (Beamont's *Annals of Warrington*, Cheth. Soc., vol. lxxxvi., pp. 136, 139).

Mr. Beamont also remarks (p. 141), "Several of our early local charters mention *minera carbonum*, mines of coal, as existing in the neighbourhood," and (on p. 161) states that amongst the Arley papers is an assignment of dower made at Warrington, in 1330, in which *minera carbonum* are mentioned as then existing at Burnhill in Ashton in Makerfield.

Mr. Earwaker notes that in one of the Standish deeds, dated 30th November, 1350 (24 Edward III.), there is a reservation of " Fyrston [fire-stone] and Secole [sea-coal], if it be possible to find them within" the property dealt with, which was at Shevington, three miles north-west of Wigan (*L. and C. Local Gleanings*, ii. 47).

About 1377 a coalmine was worked at Colne, according to the rent-roll of Bolton Priory (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd ed., 1818, p. 525 ; 4th ed., vol. ii., p. 54 *n.*).

In 1472, in a rent-roll of 12 Edward IV. (in Latin), occurs the "farm (*i.e.*, rent) of the mine of sea-coals in Padyham 20s., and the farm of the sea-coals in Colne and Trawden 6s. 8d." (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 3rd ed., 1818, p. 525). The exact words used are—

De firma minere carbonum maritimorum in Padyham et Brodehede in villa de Penhull sic dim' Rog' Cockshote et sociis suis per annum xx^{s}.

Et de firma carb. marit. in Colne & Trawden sic dim' Laur' Lyster ad terminum annorum vj^{s} viij^{d} (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th ed., vol. i., p. 361).

In deeds of the reign of Henry VI. (1422-1461) coalmines in Flintshire are noticed (Helsby's Ormerod's *Chesh.*, vol. i., p. lxxi.), and it may very possibly have been Welsh coal that was used at Chester.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

On December 4th, 1520, Margaret Hawarden, of Chester then on her deathbed, willed that her "wodde and colez be dalte and devidet among the pore people as there nede is" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 11).

In the record of the division and inclosure of Padiham town fields, near Burnley, in 1529, a coalmine in the parish is mentioned.

Whitaker's *Whalley* (3rd ed., 1818, p. 255) discusses the probable early use of mineral coal, and fixes the period of getting coal for sale about the commencement of the sixteenth century. In the rent-roll of Whalley Abbey for 1521 occurs "pro carbonibus marinis [for seal-coals], 0.0.0," showing that the use of coal was known, but the monks had not bought any that year. In the rent-roll of 1529 is an entry of £6 under this head.

At Easter, 1534, an order was made in the Duchy Chancery, in an action, Davyd Penington *v.* Squier John Urmeston, "for dygging and taking Turves and Coles in Westley in the Countie of lanc. as also for c'ten wayes and gates for cariage of Turves Coles Corne and oy' necessar's thorogh a Close in Westley called y^e^ Psons p'ke and thurgh a noy' close called y^e^ vj ac's medowe and in a lane called vj ac's lane clamed by Penyngton and by diu's other ten^a^nts and ffermors of y^e^ londs of y^e^ p'sonage of leygh in Westley." This order authorised "Penyngton and other tenants and fermors of Lygh in Westley to dygg and take Turves in the P'sonnes mosse in Westley and cary the same by the said waies to ther houses."

At Michaelmas, 1535, in the same action, Piers Hamson being named as co-plaintiff, an order was made against digging or taking "any Turvys or Coles in eny of the ground in Westley belonging to the p'sonage of legh" (*D. of*

Lanc. Decrees and Orders, lib. ii., Easter, 25 Henry VIII.; Mich., 26 Henry VIII.).

Leland's *Itinerary* in 1540 furnishes us with some valuable notes, as follow :—

"Mr. Bradeshau hath a Place caullid Hawe a myle from Wigan. He hath founde moche Canel like Se Cole in his grounde very profitable to hym" (ed. 1769, vol. vii., p. 47). He also notes, "Canale and Cole Pittes in divers Partes of Darbyshire [Hundred of West Derby, co. Lancaster]. The great Myne of Canale is at Hawe two Miles from Wigan. One Bradshaw dwellith at Hawe" (p. 49). Also, "They burne at Bolton sum Canale but more Se Cole of the wich the Pittes be not far of. They burne Turfe also" (p. 49).

"Northwich," he says, "is a prati market Toune but fowle, and by the Salters Howses be great Stakkes of smaul clovyn Woode to sethe the Salt Water that thei make white salt of" (vol. v., p. 92). This seems to infer that coal was not much used at that time in manufacturing salt in Cheshire.

Leland remarks that, "The ground bytwixt Morle [Morley] and Preston [is] enclosed for Pasture and Corne but were [except where] the vaste Mores and Mosses be, wherby, as in Hegges Rowes by side [besides] Grovettes, ther is reasonable Woodde for Building and sum for Fier, yet al the People ther for the most part burne Turfes" (vol. v., p. 98).

"Though betwixt Cawoode and Rotheram be good Plenti of Wood yet the People burne much Yerth Cole bycawse hit is plentifully found ther and sold good chepe.

"A mile from Rotheram be veri good Pittes of Cole" (vol. v., p. 102).

"Halamshire hath Plenti of Woodde and yet ther is burnid much Se Cole" (vol. v., p. 108).

"In the Dales of Richemontshire they burne Linge Petes

and Turffes. There be no Cole Pittes in Richemont yet the Easterly Partes of Richemontshire burne much Se Coles brought owt of Durhamshire" (vol. v., p. 103).

Amongst the effects of Thomas Clearke, deane of Chester, whose will is dated in 1541, were "a . . . off wood, worth xxvj^{s} viij^{d}, xx^{tye} score off coles xxvj^{s} viij^{d}; ffyre wood and turve xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}; ij lodes of canel v^{s}; lyme viij bushel ij^{s} viij^{d}" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. xxxiii., pp. 128-9).

On October 30th, 1544, John Hewett, prebendary of Chester, by his will gave "to Margere Bryne and to John Anyon" all his "woodd and coles" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 152).

The old chantry of Holme, which was built between the dissolution of Whalley Abbey and 1547, was built with lime burnt with a mixture of hazel roots and coal gathered as it might seem in the neighbouring cloughs (Whitaker, *Hist. of Whalley*, 4th ed., vol. ii., p. 207).

Tyldesley is now so well known as a coal centre that it is remarkable that in 1547 Thurstan Tyldesley makes no allusion in his will to coal, of which there must have been such large deposits on his estates, and, on the other hand, we find in the inventory of his effects, "ij turve weins worth xj^{s} iiij^{d}, iiij torve spades xvj^{d};" and amongst the debts owing to him is one "for turbarie in Wordley and Tyldisley xxviij^{s} v^{d} ob" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. xxxiii., pp. 109, 110).

In 1550, Henry Marshall, vicar of Wilmington, in Sussex, left "to the povertie (poor) at Padiham xiij^{s} iiij^{d}. . . . Item to Elizabeth Marshall my lease, which I have of the colmyne, at Padiam, with the profetts. . . . Item I forgyve Richard Marhall all suche detts as he owes me so that he do sufer his mother, Ellen Marhall, peaseably to occupie the said colmyne duryng the lease" (*Sussex Archæol. Collns.*, xiii. 49; *Palatine Note-book*, iii. 212).

On August 13th, 1556, an award was made by which "the Ryght Honorable Thomas Staneley Knyght Lord Montegle and the Ryght Worshippffull William Staneley Knyght sonne and heyre apparant of the said Thomas Stanley, as arbitores indiferent," after awarding that the parties "shalbe fullie frended, domed that Adam Hulton sonne and heyre of Willm Hulton of the Parke [at Hulton] and his heyres should cause syxtene quarters of colles yerelie to be layd opon the banke of the collepytt at his own prop costs to the use of Elizabethe Hulton late wyfe of the said William Hulton for her naturall lyfe, and yt shalbe lawfull for the saide Elizabethe to comaunde Eddard Chetam, Thoms Worthygton, Oliuer Cromton, Adam Pendulbere the elder, Thoms Meloner, and Roger Turnor, tenaunts of hir tenementis in Hulton, to leade yerelie four quarters of colles to hir house yf she be residente wythynne tenne myles of Hulton Parke" (*Hulton Pedigree and Evidences*, privately printed at Preston, by W. A. Hulton, 1845, p. 18).

In 3 and 4 Philip and Mary (1556-7), the Crown granted to Thomas Whitaker, of Holme, gentleman, his heirs and assigns for ever, all their coolemynes and coole-pitts in Clivecher, and in 1567 Whitaker transferred the grant to John Townley, Esq., for £20. In one of the old works was found an ancient sandal with straps for upper leathers (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th ed., vol. ii., p. 237).

Amongst the effects of Thomas Leylande, off the Morlayes, wthin the Countie off Lancaster, esquyer, whose will is dated in 1562, were "Item one cage wth cole and cañell v^{s} vj^{d}; Item iij hundrethe loode off turves xl^{s}" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. xxxiii., pp. 166-7).

In 1564, in the Duchy Chamber, a decree was granted in Towneley *v.* Lister concerning digging of coales in the mannor of Grenefeild (*L. and C. Record Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 253).

In 1568, *The spending of the money of Robert Nowell* records (p. 46):

Great coole iij Loode vi Sackes - - lij^{s}
Smale coale x sackes - - - - iij^{s} iiij^{d}

On June 15th, 1568, Rychard Jones, Rector of Bury, by his will bequeathed "all the turves woodde and coolles that he shall happen to haue at the tyme of his decease" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 224).

In 18 Elizabeth (1575-6), Edward Fleetwood, clerk, parson of Wigan, filed a bill in the Duchy Court complaining that Charles Banke, Robert Asteley, Raffe Fayrebrother and Reynold Maudesley since Michaelmas last past had entered into one parcel of waste ground known by the name of Whelley Lane containing twelve acres and lying on the East part of a parcel of the said manor called the Scoles, with force and wronge, and thereof have by lyke force and wronge disseised and expulsed your seid Orator and [deprived him] of the profittes thereof in digginge coale pyttes and taking coales out of the same to a great value . . . and had appropriated the same to their own use.

The learned editor adds in a note that this is the first mention he had met with of coal being worked on the Wigan glebe (Bridgman's *Wigan Church*, Cheth. Soc., vol. 15, N.S., p. 147).

The Rectors of Wigan claimed as lords of the manor all coal under roads, because roads were deemed part of the lord's waste.

On May 31st, 1575, John Braddill, of Whalley, gave by his will to Jenet his doughter the "lease of our soveraigne ladye the quenes mai^{tie} that now ys of too cole pitts thone wthin the comon and waiste wthin the towne of Brunley called his odehead and one other cole pitte wthin the towne of colm iham w^{ch} lease beareth daite at Westm' under the seale *Palatin.* heighnes Duchie of Lancaster 3 May 19 Eliz. [? 17

Elizabeth, *i.e.*, 1575], Jenet paienge the anuall rentts, and if the saied Jenet deceasse affore the saied [?] yeres be ended then Edward the testator's eldeste sonne and heire shall have the saied lease" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 112).

The inventory of Sir Thomas Butler, of Bewsey, Knt., on October 20th, 1579, includes "Waynes ploughes and other husbandry stuff with turffe and cole ij olde waynes xx^{s}—iij baye of dep turves v^{li} x^{s}—vj lode cole vj^{s} viij^{d}" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 123).

Richard Tattersall, of Brearcliffe, near Burnley, ancestor of the celebrated Richard Tattersall, made his will on the 6th of December, 1587, and the inventory of his goods includes "one chimney wth other iron things belonging to y^{t} xx^{s}, turves and coales vi^{s} viii^{d}" (*Memories of Hurstwood*, Burnley, Lancashire, by Wilkinson and Tattersall, 1889, p. 129).

On 30th May, 1595, Parson Fleetwood preferred a bill in the Duchy Court, complaining that the mayor and burgesses of Wigan "have unlawfully digged, delved, and made mynes for cooles . . . [in divers parts of the] . . . demesnes of the said mannor or town of Wigan without the assent of your said orator . . . [whereby the roads] thereof are made impassible" (Bridgman's *Hist. of Wigan Ch. and Manor*, Cheth. Soc., vol. xvi., N.S., p. 151).

In the inventory, dated June 23rd, 1596, of the effects of Hugh Bellot, bishop of Chester, one item is "the coales that were lefte after y^{e} funerall v^{s}" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. liv., p. 4).

On October 18th, 1597, Dame Marye Egerton, late of Rydley (co. Chester), widdowe of S^{r} Richard Egerton, knight, made her will referring to a deed dated October 1st, 26 Elizabeth (1584), which included "all lands, colemynes, &c., w^{ch} Roger Puleston (of Emerall, Flintshire) and

John Grosvenor (of Tussingham, Cheshire) had of guifte of Sir Rauffe Egerton" (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. li., p. 269).

COALMINING IN LITTLE HULTON: FROM ORIGINAL RECORDS.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the importance of coal began to be so far recognised at Little Hulton, near Bolton, that in leases of farms powers were reserved for getting the coal, and the gradual appreciation of the mineral is exemplified in a long series of leases as follows:—

In a lease dated 24th October, 1575, by "Edmond ffletewood of Kilborne in Midds. Esquier," to Thomas Erlam, of Pendlebury, in the p'ishe of Eccles, yoman, which dealt with a tenement and lands called ffernyslacke, in Little Hulton, the lessor reserved power "to come with horses carts carryages and workmen to dygg and carry awaye all such coales as shalbe founde growing wthin or uppon" the lands and grounds demised, and he covenanted "to fynde Thomas Erlam in stede of the lands digged for coales soe much other lande in some other place wthin the demeanes of the Peele of Hilton or of some other place of the ten'm'ts of Edmond ffletewood there wthin one quarter of a myle of the p'misses demysed as shall countervayle in goodnes and value such of the grounds as shalbe dygged for coales during such time as the said land shall remayne to be digged and that without any fraude or guyle." In leases of the same premises, dated 1501 and 1550, no mention is made of coal, nor does it occur in any deeds of earlier date relating to the estate.

In 1579, Edmunde ffletewoode, of the Pele, in Lower Hulton, esquier, demised to Roger Bordman, of Worsley, webster, a tenement in Lower Hulton "(except all maner of coles and colemynes wth lybertie to digg gett and carie

away the same at all tymes savinge the said Roger harmles in his corne) with comon of Pasture and Turbarye," and Roger might "digg and take marle in any p'te" of the tenement. The lease was renewed in 1636 to Thomas, eldest son of Roger Bordman, with a similar exception.

In 1584, Edmonde ffleetwood, of Peele, esquire, leased to "John Roscowe of Astley husbandman, Margaret his wief and George Roscowe his sone" a "ten'te in Lowest Hilton (except all colemynes and coles there being w^th^ free libertie to digge gett and cary awaye the same doinge noe hurte or damage to y^e^ corne that shall growe vpon the p'misses," with a covenant by the lessees "not to gett anie coles w^th^in the p'misses w^th^out the speciall Lycence of E. ffleetwood."

This exception and reservation did not, however, appear in all the leases on the estate, from which it may be conjectured that coal was not suspected to be general throughout the township. In 1618, Edmond ffletwood demised the Peel in Hulton to his sons Edmond and Robert, reserving all mann' of coalls and coallmynes, with librtie to digge, gett, and carry away the same, saving Edmond and Robert harmeles in their corne.

By 1637 this exception had extended to "all coles and colemynes and all other mynes of stone metalles and other mynerall things" (lease of Mort's tenement), and in 1647 a lease of part of the Tynesbank was granted, "exceptinge all manner of Cole and Cole mynes and Cannel and cannell mynes," and in the same year the same words appear in a lease of Bordman's tenement, but leases of other parts of the estate omit any reference to coal. In 1687 the wording was varied to "except all coale cannell basses and stone and all mineralls."

In 1693, in an agreement for a lease of "the ould Hall at Peele" and various fields, it was stipulated that the tenant John Berrey should "receive cole for banking whilst coles

are gott on the p'misses." In 1701 the owner reserved power to "enter and boore digg or sincke for cole cannell or other mineralls and the same gett wynd banke and carry away;" and in 1725 the wording is improved into "except mines and quarrys of Coale and Cannell or other mineralls of any kind with liberty to sink sough gett and Banck ye said Coale and Cannell and other mineralls," and the same lease stipulated that the lessee should "by all ye coales he shall use at ye Coalepitts" of the landlord, "paying the usell price." In 1734, another lessee of premises at Hulton Lane Head covenanted to buy all coals at the lessor's coalpits, and was to have an abatement of 25s. out of his rent for damages by coalpits and coalpit roads, and for repairing fences at the sides of coalpit roads, and the landlord was to fill up all coalpits so soon as useless, or to allow 30s. an acre, the tenant being further bound to ditch the coalpit roads out fourteen yards wide, on an allowance of 7d. a rood length.

Finally in 1737, when Joseph Yates, Esquire, had become the owner of the Peel estate, he took a lease from John Marsh, of Little Hulton, chapman, by which, after reciting that in Marsh's lands there were "three several coal mines best known by their quality and position as a Binn Coal Mine ye first; Crumback Coalmine ye second; and ye Brass Coalmine the third." Marsh demised to Yates "all the coalmines, but especially the known mines, with liberty to mine and get coal and slack and on every Pitt brow or Bank to load lay rook publickely sell and cart and carry away" from 24th June then next for five years, paying "for every pitt load eight pence, each to contain twenty four customary baskets of coal," and the amount to be paid quarterly.

The covenants of this early coal-lease were:—

1. "The ways and roads to the binn and crumback mine tenn yards wide for feet and wheels and the brow or bank of a sufficient compass for rooking.

2. "The fence to be made by Marsh (lessor) at his expense (except four cart-loads of hedgewood for first new fencing said way which Yates (lessee) was to procure and lay down) and for repairing the ways Marsh was quitt of damages upon the fences and places where the Pitt rank or ranks of the said two mines shall be workt and gott but Yates was to be liable for damages in respect of the third mine.

3. "To prevent any fallacy or fraud in the weekly Tail or Accompt of the Pitt Loads of Coal Marsh might find an honest man that's able willing and sufficient to do his part in winding at the one end of the Wind Lace or Coal Pitt Turn whose weekly wages each Saturday shall be paid him by Yates, whereby an accompt may be taken overagainst the Banks man employ'd by Yates which Banks man must weekly give an accompt to Marsh of what quantity of coal each collier or workman getts in the said mines.

4. "And that the accompting Banksman may weekly make good the Pitt Brow Marsh *as is customary* shall out of the said mines allow Yates for every miner or getter of coals to mine and gett for him two like baskets of coal weekly to make good the same and allow Yates for each winder and getter of coals weekly one like basket of coal for his own use, and four like baskets of coals weekly for candles towards mineing and driving the ends.

5. "Marsh to have free coal and slack for fetching the same from the respective pitt brows for private house fires, not exceeding ten pitt loads each year and not to be accompted nor paid for.

6. "Marsh to have power to fetch cart and carry away marl white-earth and stone for his own use, with this restriction that he does not damage nor diminish never a brow of the said pitts but so as the brows be sufficient for to fill up the pitts.

7. "Yates to fill up the pitts he may make for the use of the Collary.

8. "Marsh if mindful may lead the remainder of the banks for bettering of his estate.

9. "Yates to begin to sink pitts upon all the said mines, and to mine and gett all the binn and brass coalmines dry gettable and saleable, and the crumback coalmine with a continuance gett all the coal within the term from the crop so far as good and gettable even down so low as that sough drain will lay dry which Yates is now making in the Peel Estate adjoining and lower if Yates choose.

10. "That no horse or horses* (vulgarly so called) to be mett with in the said mines shall be driven or cut through to the damage of Yates during the term.

11. "Liberty of ingress egress and regress for workmen, &c., with shovels spades picks pickaxes windlaces ropes chains buckets baskets wood timber framings poleings &c.

12. "Yates to have three months from the end of the term to remove saleable coal and slack.

13. "Each party bound himself in £200 to observe his covenants."

The same year, 1737, Mr. Yates took a lease of "Common Head Tenement" for twenty-one years, for which he was to pay "for so many of the years as a brook or river in Worsley called Worsley Brook shall continue unnavigable or unpassible with Boats or Barges £27 and after Worsley Brook shall be made navigable from any part of the river Irwell into any part of an estate or tenement in Worsley called Booth's Bank Tenement £27. 10s. If Yates made any cartways through any part of the premises to any coal or kennell pitt in any part of the lands late belonging to

*This word is new to me, and its meaning is doubtful. It is probably a form of *Haws*, *Hause*, *Hals*, a neck, and may mean portions of the seam left in former workings to support the roof.

Mrs. Catherine Mort widow deceased [*i.e.*, The Peel Estate] Yates would not only fill up level and even all the said wayes passages and stoods but also manure and dung the same."

If Yates made any public ways to the said pitts, he would make an addition to the rent according as he should think reasonable, regard being had to his particular profit by such ways.

In leases dated 1740 and 1743 are covenants to buy all coals at "Peel Coal Pits," and a reservation of "a way to any coal or cannell pitts," while in another dated 1748 Yates is to remove "the coalpit brow in the middle of the Slutchfield before 2 Feb. and four other coalpit brows, and a fifth hereafter to be made within four years from 2 Feb."

THE SHUTTLEWORTH ACCOUNTS.*

These throw considerable light upon the measures, prices, and uses of coal.

1583.	Feb.	Two [horse] loads of coal [at 1d.] - -	iij^{d}
1586.	Aug.	Seven loads of cannel [at 9d.] - - -	v^{s} iij^{d}
1587.	May.	John Fish for hewing coals three days in Egberden - - - - - - - - -	x^{d}
„	June.	Seven loads of cannel [at 9d.] - - -	v^{s} iij^{d}
„	Dec.	Two loads of coal [at 7d.] - - - -	xiiij^{d}
1588.	Aug.	Eight loads of cannel [at 6d.] - - -	iiij^{s}
„	Sept.	Paid for coal at Hilton [Hulton] delf -	xij^{s}
1589.	Feb.	Six loads to burn a brickiln at Smithills [at 6⅔d.] - - - - - - - - - -	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
„	Nov.	Four loads of coal [at 7d.] - - - -	ij^{s} iiij^{d}
1590.	Jan.	Eight loads of cannel [at 6d.] - - -	iiij^{s}
„	July.	Ditto - - - - - - - - - - - -	iiij^{s}
1591.	Sept.	Seven loads of cannel [at 6d.] - - -	iij^{s} vj^{d}

* Cheth. Soc., vols. xxxv., xli., xliii., xlvi.

1592. Aug. Ditto - - - - - - - - - - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
1593. Apr. Three score horse loads of coal at Mr. Bolton's pit [at 1½d. the horse load] - vij^{s} vj^{d}
„ May. Nine loads of coal, gotten at Stanley Gate (near Ormskirk) [8½d.] - - - vj^{s} iiij^{d}
„ „ Seven leads of cannel [at 6d.] - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
1594. June. Twelve score horse loads (save two), had from Mr. Bolton's pit, at 1½d. the load - - - - - - - - - - - xxix^{s} ix^{d}
„ Aug. Forty two baskets of cannel [at 1½d.] - v^{s} iij^{d}
1595. May. Three wain loads of coals bought at Blackrod [at 7d.] - - - - - - - xxj^{d}
1596. Apr. Twelve loads fetched at Hilton delf [at 1s.] - - - - - - - - - - - xij^{s}
„ „ Twenty wain loads fetched ditto - - xx^{s}
„ Aug. Four loads of cannel brought to Smithills iiij^{s}
1597. Feb. Six wain loads at Sharples - - - - vij^{s}
„ June. Four loads at Hilton delf - - - - - iv^{s}
„ „ Twenty two wain loads at Stanley Gate xx^{s}
„ July. Sixteen loads at ditto - - - - - - xiv^{s} ix^{d}
„ „ Seven loads of cannel which Horwich men brought - - - - - - - - - vj^{s}
1598. Jan. Two loads of cannel - - - - - - xviij^{d}
„ June. Sixteen loads of coal - - - - - xiv^{s} viij^{d}
„ July. Seven loads of cannel - - - - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
1599. May. Nine loads - - - - - - - - - - vij^{s} ix^{d}
„ June. Ralph Crompton of Lever Bridge, for twenty one loads - - - - - - - xiv^{s} x^{d}
„ „ Seven loads of cannel - - - - - - v^{s} iij^{d}
1601. Mar. Nine quarters and six wiskets (baskets) full - - - - - - - - - - - iv^{s} ix^{d}
„ June. Seventeen quarters [at 6d.] - - - xxviij^{s} vj^{d}
„ Nov. Twenty five quarters, wanting three wiskets full [at 6d.] - - - - - - xij^{s} iiij^{d}

1602. Dec. Twenty quarters for the house use [at 6d.] - - - - - - - - - - - - xˢ
1604. Aug. Four score quarters - - - - - - - xlˢ
and in reward to the colliers - - - xijᵈ
1605. Oct. Five score quarters for the house, and given to the colliers for their pains 12d. in all - - - - - - - - - - ljˢ
„ Nov. Eight loads for the smithy - - - - viijᵈ
1608. Aug. Six chaldron [of thirty six bushels Lancashire measure] of sea coals, at the ship at London [at 16s.] - - - - - ivˡⁱ xvjˢ
For bringing them home [to Islington] by porters - - - - - - - - - - xijˢ
For watching them one night - - - xijᵈ
1608. Nov. A chaldron of sea coals - - - - - - xxijˢ
1609. Jan. Half a chalder [eighteen bushels] of coals - - - - - - - - - - - - xˢ xᵈ
1610. Ap. (in Lancashire) Fifty quarters [at 6d.] - xxvˢ
1611. June. Six score quarters and ten [130 quarters] of coals, and six wiskets [at 6d.] - iijˡⁱ vˢ iijᵈ
1612. June. Nine score and eighteen [198] quarters of coals at Padiham pit [at 6d.] - - ivˡⁱ xixˢ
Given to the colliers to spend - - - xviijᵈ
1617. Dec. Seven score and eighteen quarters [at 6d.] - - - - - - - - - - - - - iijˡⁱ xixˢ vjᵈ
1618. Sep. Two hundred and five quarters and three wiskets [at 6d.] - - - - - - vijˡⁱ xiijˢ xjᵈ

THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1600, a coalpit was being sunk, probably on the property of Ralph Worsley, of Worsley Hall and Worsley Mesnes, Pemberton, and Wigan. An account of the expenses shows the sinking and the merry-making at finding the coal, at the removal of the stone and water, and at the scouring

of the pit. It shows the prices realised, which indicate two qualities, and the output was apparently about twenty-five (horse) loads per day. It was communicated by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey to the *Wigan Examiner* some years ago, and is reprinted in *The Industries of Wigan*, by Folkard, Betley, and Percy (Wigan, 1889). I have to thank Mr. C. W. Sutton, of the Manchester Free Library, for my knowledge of this and several other items. It reads as follows:—

Layde downe for workmen's wages and other necessaries for the Coal Pitte:

3 M'ch 1600	for viij. yards and halfe sinckinge - - -	xvij^{s}
	for tymberings of it - - - - - - - -	xij^{d}
[Tuesday]	for more worke done - - - - - - -	xij^{d}
	for drincke and breade at the fyndinge of the coale - - - - - - - - - - -	xij^{d}
	three men's wages ij dayes and a halfe -	iiij^{s} ij^{d}
	for windinge water - - - - - - - -	ij^{s} ix^{d}
	for making a torne [? windlass] - - - -	vj^{d}
9 Mch	for wyndinge water on Mondaye - - -	xvj^{d}
	for wyndinge water on Twysdaye - - -	vij^{d}
	for three workemen on Twysdaye - - -	xxij^{d}
	for three workmen on Wednesdaye - -	xxij^{d}
	for wyndinge water on Wednesdaye - -	vj^{d}
	to John Smethurste for a propp - - -	iij^{d}
16 Mch	from Wednesdaye at night till Mondaye morninge drawinge water - - - - -	iiij^{s} vj^{d}
	to the getters ij dayes and a halfe - - -	iij^{s} iv^{d}
	to Robte ffarymond for getting of coales -	xvj^{d}
	to John Nayler for wyndinge of them - -	xj^{d}
	to James Topping for wyndinge coale and stone on Thursdaye - - - - - -	xj^{d}
	for wyndinge coale and stone on Fryday -	xij^{d}
	for wyndinge stone on Satterday - - -	ix^{d}

for iij ponds of candles - - - - - - - xiiij^{d}
for ij ropes and a trundle for a wheele-barrow - - - - - - - - - - - - v^{d}
for a wheelebarrow - - - - - - - - xx^{d}
for a rope for the coale pitte - - - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
to John Turner upon Mondaye - - - - xvj^{d}
upon Wednesdaye - - - - - - - - - x^{d}
upon Thursdaye - - - - - - - - - xiij^{d}
Jt. to Robte. ffarymond for getting coales on Mondaye - - - - - - - - - - xviij^{d}
Jt. to John Nayler for wyndinge coale and stone both nighte and daye, Mondaye - - - - - - - - - - - - - xviij^{d}
Jt. to James Taylor for wyndinge stone and coales - - - - - - - - - - xviij^{d}
and one basketh wch had of him same tyme - - - - - - - - - - - - iij^{d}
Richard Pye for wyndinge stone - - - vj^{d}
James Topping for wyndinge stone - - ij^{d}
James Nayler for wyndinge stone - - - ij^{d}
Humffrey Taylor for wyndinge stone - - vj^{d}
for wyndinge water upon Thursdaye - - iij^{d}
Jt. one wheelebarrowe - - - - - - - vj^{d}

[£3. 2s. 3d.]

Receyved backe agayne of - xvij^{s} iij^{d} vij^{s} viij^{d}

Payed to my cozen Worseley for the scowring of the pitte agayne to be payed to John Turner - - - - - - - - - xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
more payed to my said cozen by James Howe xx^{s} for the same use - - - - - xx^{s}

[£1. 13s. 4d.]

Given to Richard Rylands xx^{s} — Payed hereof for wyndinge water a weecke to John Nayler - - vij^{s}
and for other work iiij^{d} to Rowndell Leghe for plate
for xxxviij loade of coales getting iiij^{s} ix^{d}

[£o. 12s. 1d.]

by M^{r} Worseley to John Turner for worke done by him - - - - - - - - - - xviij^{d}
Jt. to John Southworthe for worke done by him - - - - - - - - - - - - iiij^{s} ij^{d}
Jt. for xxiij li of iron - - - - - - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
more payed to John Smethurst for his worke v^{s}

[£o. 14s. 1d.]

Soulde fyftie loade of coales gotten by Roundell Birchall all for fyfteen shillings ten pence - - - - - - - - - - - xv^{s} x^{d}

Gotten and Soulde by Richard Rylands — Soulde xxxviij loade of coales first weecke
Second weecke four score and fourteene loades
Third weecke fyftie two loades
Fourth weecke six score and three loades
Fifte weecke xij score and two loades
Sixte weecke x score and ten loades
Seventhe weecke viij score xvij loades
In the waye three score and thirteene loades [Total 859]

Jt. thirteene dayes getting in the forseid waye the gettinge of the coales in the waye cometh to more than the coales do amount to - - - - - - - - - - xv^{s} x^{d}

and for wyndinge water - - - - - - - xlix^{s}
for tymberinge the pitte - - - - - - - lx^{s} x^{d}
for making the plate - - - - - - - - xx^{d}
for wyndinge stone - - - - - - - - xiij^{d}
for gettinge vij loades of coales - - - - xxv^{s} vij^{d}
for wyndinge the seid loades - - - - iij^{s} vj^{d}
all this to be repayed
for c. [100] loades of coales - - - - - xv^{s} x^{d}
for viij c. [800] fortie nyne loades - - - xij^{l} iiij^{s}
for halfe a hundred layed up - - - - xviij^{d}

(*Industries of Wigan*, pp. 11-13).

On 8th October, 1601, the Manchester Court Leet Jury ordered Robert Goodyeare to remove his cole rooke from off the land of Francis Pendilton so that they be not hurtfull to the wall or seller of the house wherein Henrye Hardye nowe dwelleth (Earwaker's *Manch. Court Leet Records*, vol. ii., p. 175).

At the enquiry, held August 8th, 1606, after the death of William Crofte, who owned the Manor of Claughton in Lonsdale, marriage articles dated September 22nd, 1601, were referred to by which certain trustees granted the manor of Caton with Litlefeild, Deepeclough, and Tongue-moor with other property, and "all their estate in the premises, mines of coal, quarries of stone, &c." (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 54).

In 1610 there were coalmines at Bradford, near Manchester (*Local Notes and Queries, Manch. Guardian*, No. 173).

At the enquiry, held September 4th, 1611, after the death of George Hulton, of Farnworth, Esquire, he was found to have been seized of "one coalmine with the appurtenances in ffarnworth" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 468).

At the enquiry, held April 15th, 1612, after the death of Randle Barton, of Smythells (near Bolton), a Settlement

was set forth dealing with Smythells Hall and lands in Headon, Halliwell, and Sharples, known as the demaine lands of Smythells and lands in Halliwell and Horwich, and "the coalmines found or to be found in the said tenements" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 210).

1613, January 31st, James Chetham, of Nuthurst, co. Lancaster, gent., made his Will, whereby he gave his executors several messuages in Crompton, "and also the issues and profits setting and letting of one cole myne commonly called and known by the name of Lenardyne and with liberty to set down more shaft or shafts and to dig and mine for the finding and getting of coals" for the payment of his debts and educating, &c., his four daughters until they shall have severally received forty pounds (Booker's *Blackley*, p. 153).

At the enquiry, held October 4th, 1613, after the death of William Hulton, his postnuptial settlement was produced, dealing with his messuages, lands, &c., in Manchester, Denton, Harpers Hey, Hulton, Farnworthe, Heaton, and Wigan, "with all mines of coal and cannel on the premises reserving full power to William and Katherine his wife and the survivor of them, at any time to search for, dig, and carry away coal or cannel at their will" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 266).

At the enquiry, held August 31st, 1615, after the death of Lawrence Habergham, of Habergham, it was found that he died seized of thirty acres of land, meadow, and pasture, and one coal mine in Habergham; and at a further enquiry held October 20th, 1618, his property is again stated to have included "one coal mine in Habergham" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xvi., pp. 23, 102).

On October 30th, 1619, Richard Grundie, who was slayne in a colepitt at the Goit, was buried at Stockport Parish Church (Bulkeley's *Stockport Parish Registers*).

On November 2nd, 1619, William Ormshaw, *alias* Ascroft, and Robert Jolly, the two bailiffs of the town [of Wigan], with Roger Bullock, a burgess of Wigan, came to the hall at the entreaty of Peter Plat, of Wigan, chandler, and desired the bishop to give the same Plat leave to continue a gutter or passage on to the lord's waste, which is the street of Milgate, to conduct the water from a coalpit which he had digged in his own ground near to Milgate, and which is now full of water, so that he cannot work it. He promised to content the bishop for such license in whatever fashion he should demand; and he only asked this liberty for a month that he might try what benefit he could make of that pit, and afterwards he will pay the bishop either in money or in coals what he (the bishop) shall think reasonable so long as his said coalpit lasts. A few months later his widow, Anne Plat, begged leave to continue this privilege, so that the water might run down the side of the street to the river, and agreed with the bishop to pay a rent of 52s., that is 12d. a week, and fifty loads of coals, and to pave the way all along, so that the water from the pit should not hurt the said highway of Millgate.

On July 25th, 1621, Roger Bullock and Oliver Plat came to the bishop at Chester, and asked leave to dig a pit near the midst of the street called Millgate at Wigan, adjacent to the river, whereby they might make use of the coalpit before mentioned, which is higher up in that street, and which is filled with water and useless, offering to pay him 12d. and a load of coals weekly so long as they should get coals from the higher pit or elsewhere near the old coalmine. This he gave them permission to do, but only for the purpose of drawing water from the said pit; and they bound themselves to fill up the said pit whenever they should leave off digging and sufficiently to amend the highways, so that no annoyance or danger should come to anybody there (Wigan

Leger, fol. 34, 45, 59; see *History of Wigan Church*, part ii., pp. 242, 264, 268, Cheth. Soc., vol. xvi., N.S.).

On May 7th, 1620, John Newtone, of Oldham, made his will, in which he mentions the Seven Holye Crosses as the meares at Horsedge Lands, and that he and Jas Haulkerd used to get Coles in a certain cole myne lying upon Oldham Edge within the bounds of the said Crosses of [off] ye part of land uninclosed of Edmond Taylor the eldr of Horsedge gentn and so continued getting Cole a good season abt the terme of a yeare as hys hyred servt there during wch tyme sundrye psons bot Cole there wn I by the consent of sd Edm Taylor and amongst others James Ashtone of Chadderton Esqre did entreat the sd Edmd to command us his Collyers to get Cole for his use and did accordinglye satisfye and paye unto us (as all other that fetched) money for all such Cole as he fetched according as we solde unto other psons. We dyd contynue getting and selling of Cole without anie gainsaye untill the sd Edm Taylor the yonger, having sett down a cole myne in another place more gainful then that Cole myne wherein wee then wrought (the Coles thereof being but verie base), took away James Hawlkerd from the Edge myne and placed him in the other being also more gaynfull to the workman. Not longe after Sir John Byronn the younger came to lyve at Ryton and desyred Cole neare hym hearyng by dyvers that Cole dyd lye uppon the Waste of Oldham very near the Crosses and wth out them whereuppon a meeting was appointed at Oldham by the sd Sr John Byrone Knt James Asheton Esqre Richard Tetlowe and John Cudworth gentn where yt was agreed that there soyle shd be broken upon the Waste of Oldham and not elsewhere for gettyng of Cole for the use of these gentn and their tenants and of others by their allowance and that every of those gentn shd have their turne to gett Coles for themselves their tents and

friends and the gayne of the sd Coles to be distribd amongst them in proportion to their enclosed Land. Mr. Cudworth was noiated overseer of the Collyers and myne for preservance of sd myne and that no waste shd be committed afterwds the sayd John Cudworth broke soyle and hyred sondrie Collyers to gett Cole of wch number I myself was one (Shaw's *Oldham Local Notes and Gleanings*, ii. 112).

On October 20th, 1625, Edmund Taylor Senior and Junior of Horsedge demised to John Leaver of Manchester gent. property at Horsedge including all coal pitts mynes of coal already found digged or opened or to be &c. and liberty to cutt down Tymber for making and upholding the Coal pitts (*op. cit.* ii. 164).

At Easter, 18 James I. (1621), Richard Roughley [Rowley ?], Thomas Worsley, Robert Sutton, John Wood, William Sutton, John Sutton, Peter Kenyon, William Naylor, and all other freeholders of Sutton, near St. Helens, claimed against Richard Bold, Esq., common of pasture upon the wastes of Sutton, and alleged that Squire Bold and his uncle of the same name pretended to be lords of the soil, and caused enclosures to be made which hindered their common, the residue of the wastes not being sufficient; and they further alleged that Squire Bold continually made coalpits upon the wastes and got great store of coal to the prejudice of their common and great danger of their cattle. The record states that most of the enclosures were anciently made, some twenty, some forty, some sixty years ago, and some before any man's remembrance, and those which the defendants made did not exceed three acres; and that Squire Bold and his ancestors had usually got coals upon the wastes, "which is a usual thing for Lords of wastes to do in that country;" and that the plaintiffs had sixteen several times pulled down divers of the enclosures "which this Court doth

altogether mislike." The court sanctioned the ancient enclosures, and authorised Squire Bold to dig and get coals in the wastes till the cause was heard, "he causing the pits and holes to be carefully looked to and filled up after the work is ended to prevent any danger to the plaintiffs' cattle" (*D. of Lanc. Decrees and Orders*, 16-20, Jac. 1, fo. 310*b*). On 9th September, 1622, Squire Bold agreed with Richard Eltonhead and the other freeholders and charterers in Sutton to divide the wastes; and Thomas Wolfall and Richard Mollineux were appointed by the court to view and allot the same, "except the part called Peasley Crosse and all places on Markalls Moss where turves are to be got with the Langotts and ways thereunto belonging and the lanes and passages in Sutton and except the ground on Horston Heath whereon recreations for bowling have been and are used all which are to lie open;" and Squire Bold was not to enclose the ways, lanes, and passages, nor make any coalpits for getting coals or other pits upon the ways, nor dig under them (*D. of Lanc. Decrees and Orders*, Trinity 10, Car. 1).

At the enquiry, held April 11th, 1622, after the death of Sir Thomas Gerrard, of Bryn, Knt. and Bart., a fine is mentioned which was levied in Lent, 1612, and included the coalmines in Ashton-in-Makerfield and Windle (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 298).

At the enquiry, held in April, 1623, after the death of Robert Hesketh, of Rufforth, Esquire, a settlement dated July 27th, 1620, was produced which dealt with "messuages, mills, coalmines, lands, &c., in Harwood, Tollesworth in Rushton, Maudsley, and Wrightington" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xvii., p. 353).

In 1627 among the yearly profits of the parsonage of Wigan occur the following entries:—

Milgate

Roger Bullock - Colpit toft - - - 0 0 2

Standishgate

Augustin Wilbore - Porch and colrock - o o 6

In Halgate

James Low - - - Cole court, sty, &c. - o 1 o

Milgate

An Platt - - - Cole croft - - - o o . 2

(*Hist. of Wigan Church*, part ii., Cheth. Soc., vol. xvi., N.S., pp. 312, 315, 316, 318).

In 1635, Sir William Brereton, of Handford, co. Chester, travelled into Scotland, and notes at Shields "the vastest salt works by reason of the conveniency of coal and cheapness thereof being at 7s. a chaldron which is three wain load." Every pan yields four draughts of salt in a week, and every draught is worth about 30s. Spent in coal, ten chaldron of coal at 7s. a chaldron which amounts to £3. 10s. in coals, deduct out of 6*l.* there remains £2. 10s. besides one man's wages. In these 250 pans there is weekly spent in coals 775*l.* (p. 88-9, *Brereton's Travels*, Cheth. Soc., vol. i.). "From Aten, four miles from Barwick you pass over the largest and vastest moors that I have ever seen. Here is a mighty want of fire, neither coal, nor wood, nor turf, only the cutt and flea top turves with linge upon them (p. 96). All along the shore of Frithe are placed salt pans. The conveniency of coals gives greatest encouragement to the erection and pursuit of these works, coals abound all along the shore, yea it is conceived that the vein lies all along the river seeing it is found on both sides as it were reaching towards each other. Here the chief charge is the getting which is not easy seeing the vein lies sometimes sixteen or twenty fathom deep. The greatest part of salt here made is transported into Holland. Here now are some of their [Dutch] ships, which are also supplied with coals hence, now the rather because the custom of 4s. upon a chaldron being increased they decline the trade there, and

none or few of them are there to be now found. Coals are sold for 3s. or 3s. 6d. chaldron and carriage 2s. 8d." (p. 112).

In February, 1636-7, Bishop Bridgeman entered into a contract with some Wigan colliers to work his pits at Farnworth, of which the following is a copy:—

"Apud Lever ffebruary the thirteenth A° 1636. It is agreed between John Lord B^p^ of Chester and Hugh Bradley of Aspull, Humfrey Gregson, Rob^t^ Burges, and Rob^t^ Harp of Wigan colers who do all and every of them covenant w^th^ the said Lo^d^ B^p^ to digg in his pitts at ffarneworth cole and cannell all this yeare ensuing beginning on St. Matthias Eve next and ending that day twele moneth And they are to have for every quarter of cole or cannell w^ch^ they digg and gett upp eight pennce a quarter and nothing more either for candles ffireing tooles gratuities or anie other thing or payment Only because the worke is now hard and troublesome in one of the pitts wherein they are presently to worke they hope his Lo^p^ will give them somewhat of his free giufte for these three next weekes but they will stand to his curtesie therein and do covenant w^th^ him to worke as afforesd for eight pennce each quarter and no more for these twelfe monthes next ensueing And they covenant w^th^ him to worke the worke substantially fairly justly and honestly as may bee best for the safetie and upholding of the Mines and most for the p'fitt of the s^d^ lo^d^ B^p^ and his assignees.

In witnesse whereof they have hereunto set their hands

JO: CESTRIEN

HUGONIS Sign + BRADLEY

HUMFREY Sign + GREGSON

ROB^T^ Sign R BURGESS

ROB^T^ Sign R HARP

M^d^ in part of payment they have receaved each one half a crowne *in toto* 10s. The Lo^d^ Bp doth p'mise to build them upp a Hovell this sum^r^ and they p'mise to bring their bellowes and sharpen their owne tooles; The lo^d^ Bp also p'mised to find them baskets and ropes but nothing els and they to fynd Draw^rs^ and all other thinges.

In p'sence of LAW. BOOTH
THO. WASSE
DEODATUS PAULETT
R sign. RICHARDI BOOTH"

(*Hist. of Wigan Ch.*, part ii., p. 397).

By a codicil dated March 29th, 1639, Dame Dorothy Legh, of Worsley, widow, gave "unto the workemen in or at the coalepitts and cannell pitts in Middle Hulton every one tenne shillings a peece," and in her inventory dated April 15th, 1639, appear "Item fewell at Worsley vij^li^ Item coales cannell and basse upon the banke at Hulton cvj^li^ iij^s^ ij^d^ Item two stithes, two payre of bellowes, windles, ropes, chaines, arks, timber, and other things there v^li^ xiij^s^ viij^d^ (*L. and C. Wills*, Cheth. Soc., vol. liv., pp. 209, 210).

In 1640, the rent for the "coalemynes in Colne mannor" was 11s., for those in Trawden 6s. (*Local Gleanings, Manchester Courier*, No. 809, p. 278).

SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The Oldham Parish Registers record the following marriages:—On November 18th, 1654, James Thorpe sonne of Robert Thorpe, of Ryton, colier. On January 16th, 1654-5, Richard Cropper, of the toune of Ouldham, colier. On May 7th, 1655, James Breareley, of Greenakers more, colier (Shaw's *Oldham Local Notes*, iii. 69, 72, 105).

Mr. Galloway (*op. cit.*) states that "as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century a small export trade was

being carried on from Liverpool, but the quantities shipped were as yet insignificent" (p. 92). I do not know Mr. Galloway's authority for this generalisation, and I have not met with any Liverpool record earlier than 1667. Mr. Picton says that in that year the coal from the collieries at Whiston, near Prescot, and the rude pottery made at the latter place, constituted an important part of the exports from Liverpool; and a town's order was issued "as the streets are much decayed and abused by the frequent driving of carts laden with coals and mugs to the waterside through the same instead of over the pool bridge or the Water Street end . . . no person to pass through the streets of this town with his cart so laden unto the waterside upon the penalty of 12d." (Picton's *Memorials of Liverpool*, 1873, vol. i., p. 131).

In 1667, when describing his property in Pool Lane, Liverpool, Mr. Edward More advises his son to wall it in, so "you might make forty pounds per annum with laying coals there for the sea, there being not the like place in Liverpool for that use. Consider well of this coal trade, and put it in execution" and "Capt. Fazakerley of the Castle finding he had so convenient a way to the water side in one year had many hundreds of loads of coals brought to the castle, but when I understood his design was to make a way for the castle down my street I forthwith caused the post and chains erected and made him glad to carry the coals through the Pool Lane to the ships, for the town made an order he should not carry them through the Water Street to break all the pavements there, and since that he never had any coals in the castle" (*Moore Rental*, Cheth. Soc., vol. xii., pp. 80, 84).

In 1671, the churchwardens of Prestwich "paid to Edw. Chatterton ffor a carte load of coles 00.02s.08d.," and in 1749 they were charged 5s. "for a load of coals" (Booker's *Prestwich Church*).

In 1673, R. Blome's *Britannia* states that Wigan is famous for the choicest coal in England, called cannell.

On 5th October, 15 Charles II. (1675), at Church Lawton, Cheshire, Stephen Smith was ordered to remove his soyle in the head of his field called the Colepit field and set it in its right place where the soyle anciently stood (*L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 44).

The earliest record of coalmining at Clifton, near Manchester, so far as I have been able to find, is on 13th February, 1688, when an Exchequer Commission was issued in an action by James Butler against Thomas Gooden relative to colemines and cole pitts within the manor of Clifton (*Lancashire Record Soc.*, vol. xi., pp. 73, 76). This record indicates the extent of the mining and the profits from it so clearly that the following rather lengthy extract must be excused:—

Exchequer Deposition 4 James II. (1689) Easter. No. 21.

The third Interrogatory to be administered for the plaintiff to witnesses in a cause in the Exchequer at Westminster between James Butler, Esq., plaintiff, Thomas Gooden and others, defendants, was:—

Whether hath the defendant Thomas Gooden received the profits of the coalpit and of all coals got within the manor or township of Clifton, and for how long? Whether did the said defendant dig and get coals at two pits or places, and for how long? When did he first enter and receive the profits of the said coalpits, whether on or about the first day of September last, or what other time, and whether the said defendant digged and got coals at the pits ever since and received the profits thereof, and of what profit weekly the defendant hath made thereof ever since, or what and how much in some weeks, whether five, six, or seven pounds, or what other sum weekly, and for

how long time? What and how much hath been made thereof by the said defendant weekly, one week until another, ever since the defendant first entering and taking the profits, and how came you to know the same, and were you a workman, and what workman, at the same.

G. STAYNRODE.
THO. WHETE.
WM. ASSHETON.
JNO. WAITE.

Depositions of witnesses, taken at the house of Edward Holland, vintner, in Manchester, upon Friday, the seven and twentieth day of April, 4 James II., A.D. 1688.

John Seddon, formerly sworn on behalf of defendant, and now sworn on behalf of plaintiff, saith: To the third interrogatory, that on or about the 1st day of September last the defendant Thomas Gooden entered upon and took the profits of the coalpits and of all the coals gotten within the manor of Clifton, and since that time hitherto the said defendant hath continued digging for and getting of coals within the said manor, and receiving the profits thereof, during which time deponent verily believes that the said Gooden hath received of clear profits of the said coalpits the sum of £59 and not upwards. The reason inducing deponent to believe this is that he hath been a banksman for the said Gooden ever since he (Gooden) entered upon the said coalpits, and took particular notice upon that occasion what clear profits were made thereof, and by the account which deponent gave up to Gooden it will appeare that the clear profits of the said coalpits during the space aforesaid do amount in all to the sum before deposed by witness. But what have been the profits weekly, or one week with another, by reason of some losses happening in some weeks more than others, deponent cannot set forth.

Henry Sedden, of Clifton, labourer, aged about thirty-

four years. Deponent says that since the time of Gooden's entering upon the possessions of the coalpits he (deponent) was a workman employed for getting of coals for the said Gooden, by the space of one fortnight together, within which space of time deponent knows that Gooden received of clear profit out of the said coalpits £13.

Adam Smith, formerly examined on defendant's behalf and now sworn on plaintiff's behalf, saith that he was a workman at the coalpits within the manor of Clifton for thirty weeks, and during that time kept an account of the profits arising therefrom, which he verily believes amounted to £44 and upwards.

Timothy Cleworth, of Pendleton, labourer, aged about forty-seven years, saith that having been concerned as a workman for defendant for a fortnight, he very well knows that Gooden made in one week of the said fortnight of clear profits the sum of £6 odd, and the other week £7. 10s. and upwards.

John Nabb, of Clifton, labourer, aged about twenty-two years, saith that he heard Adam Smith declare that Gooden had received in one fortnight out of the said coalpits £13 and upwards.

William Atkinson, of Clifton, labourer, aged about fifty years, was a workman at the said coalpits, but was only concerned in receiving his wages for his work.

Edmund Gooden, of Little Bolton, in co. Lancaster, gentleman, aged about fifty-nine years, says he believes the lands now in mortgage to Alexander Radcliffe, Thomas Gooden, and James Butler, together with the timber thereupon, and coal and cannel mines therein and common thereto belonging, is really worth to be sold £4,000 and upwards.

John Fletcher, late of Salford, merchant, aged about thirty-two years, saith that Humphrey Trafford valued the lands

mortgaged to the persons above mentioned at between £3,000 and £4,000, besides the mines, commons and woods. Deponent believes the same to be worth more than £3,000.

On January 5th, 1694, Peter Shakerley, M.P. for Chester city, wrote from Westminster that the Commons has discussed a proposal to put a duty "of 3s. p^{r} Tunn upon *all* Coal, but upon y^{e} arguments urged that *all* coal could not bear that nor in deed any charge y^{e} Question dwindled to onely Coal put on Shippboard and landed in England or Wales or Ireland" (*Hist. Soc. of L. and C.*, vol. v., p. 82).

The wills at Chester include those of the following persons:—

1639. Thomas Whalley, of Coal-pitts, in Blackburn.
1663. John Boardman, of Middle Hulton, collier.
1664. Josiah Clarke, of Windle, in Prescott, coalminer.
1665. John Thropper, of Atherton, par. Leigh, collier.
1671. Edmund Stott, of Lower Milne in Hundersfield, collier.
1676. Robt. Grundy, of Clifton, coalminer.
1687. Robert Brearley, of Ogden, par. Rochdale, collier.
1689. Rob. Harpur, of Kersley, collier.
" " " " Macclesfield, collier.
1690. Peter Martlu [Mart-clew], of Latham, collier.
1692. Thomas Brighouse, of Lathom, collier.
1692. Rich. Yate, of Farnworth, collier.
1694. Nath^{l} Sankey, of Altham, near Burnley, co. Lancaster, collier.
1699. John Travis, of Pendleton, par. Eccles, coal man.

(*Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, vols. iv., xv., xviii.)

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND CONCLUSION.

Dr. Charles Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire and the Peak in Derbyshire*, Oxford, 1700,

mentions "the Kennel Pits at Haigh" (p. 57), and the coal Mines adjacent to Latham (p. 64), and states (p. 65) that "Coal and Kennel-Mines are always found in strata shelving towards the center or as the miners call it Dipping, Insomuch that the same which in one part perhaps cannot be discovered under Twenty Fathoms is yet at the Rise of the mine frequently found near the surface of the ground. If the mines ly in any considerable strata, or as the workmen stile it, ly true, their usual dip is east or west, or, as they vulgarly word it, to the Twelve-a-clock or Four-a-clock sun. "If the luxuriant springs of acidulæ did not ly in this shelving posture the quantities of water would be too great for any engine to discharge." The vague notions of geology then prevailing are shown by his remarking that "No specifick gravitation is observed; for coals, strata of marle, coal slats, (in all the mines I have seen), always ly promiscuously. From which it is evident that in their subsidence they were not determined to any specifick gravitation."

In 1716, the old chapel in Blackwater Street, Rochdale, was erected on a piece of waste or void land called the Colepitt Garden (Raines' *Vicars of Rochdale*, Cheth. Soc., i. 131 *n*).

To Mr. J. P. Earwaker I am indebted for a copy of an agreement made in September, 1728, between "the ffeofees concern'd in the Exhibition belonging to Brasennose Colledge" and Jonah Harropp, of Bardsley, near Ashton-under-Lyne, whereby the feoffees consented to Harropp having the mine of Coles calld fair-bottom mine for ten years then next coming Lying in widow Saxon's Tenement in Knotlanes paying for every twenty six baskitts or halph horse loads six pence likewise for every pound of candles the colliers burn in getting the s^{d} coles they the feoffees allowing three baskitts or halph horse loads, and one baskitt by the week to every getter for sharpning his picks, and a baskitt for every getter for maintaining the bank.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century the great drawback to the Lancashire coal industry began to be remedied. Under an act passed 6 George I. (1720) the River Douglas was rendered navigable, so as to afford a cheap outlet for the coal treasures of Wigan. It was in 1720 also that the Mersey and Irwell were made navigable up to Manchester.

The Duke of Bridgewater had long contemplated converting Worsley Brook into a canal from the Irwell to the important coalfield north of Worsley, and in 1737 (10 George II.) an act was passed to make that brook navigable from the Irwell to Worsley Mills, but this intention was abandoned and another act was obtained in 1759 (32 George II.) to cut a canal between the same points as preferable to canalising the brook.

In 1755 (28 George II.), an act was passed for forming the Sankey Canal to provide the Haydock coalfield with a waterway.

On July 26th, 1765, the Oldham surveyors paid Samuel Stansfield 0.1.5 "for leading 4 of sleck" and James Ingham 0.2.2 "for 4 load of sleck at 6½d per load" and on Aug 3 they paid James Greenwood 0.0.2 "for 2 Hors load of sleck" (*Oldham Local Notes and Gleanings*, i. 55). The sleck or slack was possibly used as a bed for paving with "boolders" or cobble stones. The use of pack horses is indicated by the third item.

In 1769, Defoe, in his *Tour of Great Britain* (iii. 281), says: Between Wigan and Bolton is found great plenty of what they call canel or candle coal.

On June 2nd, 1774, "a terrable accident happened at Alkrington coalpit by the works falling in owing to the negligence of one of the workmen by which three of the Poor Coaliers were terribly hurt, limbs and back broak and other ways sadly bruised so that their lives were dispared of

one of which was most dangerous was taken to the Infirmary" (*Manchester Guardian N. and Q.*, 1244).

The Old Woolpack, Deansgate, Bolton, was rebuilt in 1782, by Edmund Riley, of Turnotle, Rumworth, and renamed The Bay Stoned Horse, after a favourite animal which became blind through overwork by turning a coal wince or winsey at Chequerbent, in Westhoughton (*Bolton Hist. Gleanings*, 1882, p. 93).

This antiquated method of coalraising is shown in a woodcut in *Manchester City News Notes and Queries*, 22nd June, 1889, No. 5,414.

In 1787, Dorning Rasbotham, Esq., of Birch House, Farnworth, wrote a description of Farnworth, in which he says: "William Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, claimed the lordship of the waste of the township, and had gotten coal under Halshaw Moor. There are mines of coal and cannel. The only mines of coal now (1787) worked in the township are those of the Duke of Bridgwater, held by him under lease from Sir Henry Bridgeman and other persons. The coal is found at various depths, and the strata of various thicknesses from half a yard and less to that of two yards. The dip is nearly to *the one o'clock sun*, and when they lie regularly their inclination is about one inch in six" (*Bolton Hist. Gleanings*, 1881, p. 262).

Mr. Rasbotham also states that in Chowbent, Atherton, "coal sells at 2½d. per hundred, and is carted to the most distant parts of the township at 3½d. . . . The coalmines have been long worked; in the deepest part they do not lie more than sixty yards from the surface, they are freed from water by pumps and are not liable to damps" (*Bolton Hist. Gleanings*, pp. 143-4).

1789, April 20th, the first three boat loads of coal from Worsley arrived at Bank Top, Manchester (Axon's *Annals of Manchester*, p. 116).

In a pamphlet (about 1790) advocating "a proposed canal from Kendal to the Duke of Bridgwater's canal leading to Manchester," it is said that "the country from Denham Vale near Chorley for some miles on each side of the proposed canal to Worsley are continued inexhaustible mines of the best coal, cannel, quarries of flags, and other rocks almost of every kind. . . . From Walton to the coalworks at Padiham is about 18 miles. From Walton to the Collieries on the Douglas Navigation is about 16 miles, to go for cannel about seven miles more, two of which the cannel must be carted. The Collieries at Padiham are confined in a small compass and will be found barely sufficient to supply the great demand to Clitheroe and Craven. At Newborough not a coal can be bought but what must come down Mr. Liegh's Navigation at 8s per tun besides the demand to Liverpool and down the Douglas to Hesketh Bank will require more coals than can well be produced if they were to be had at both places in the greatest plenty. Suppose 100 boats burthen 30 tuns each were loaded with coal 50 times in the year at 4s per tun sold and paid for in cash by the inhabitants between Preston and Kendal the whole would amount to £30,000. By extending the Canal to Kendal want of coal and cannel will be more plentifully supplied for limestone in exchange, for coal is to that country from Chorley to Worsley of more value than gold. From Walton to the coals at Chorley is not eight miles, to the cannel at Haigh about six miles farther.

"Mr. Chadwick's coal near Chorley in different beds 7 feet thick, Mr. Norris's 9, Mr. Livesey's 9, Standish 16, Blackrod 20, Arley 20, Haigh 46; Cannel 3, Sir Thomas Gerrard's ditto 3, Mr. Halliwell's &c. 3. There are above the coal and cannel vast quantities of bass sufficient and proper to burn limestone.

"About three months ago a fresh mine of coal nine feet thick was discovered at Haigh which only dibs one yard at twenty.

" The Sanky Canal has been extended in order to take in more collieries but still is short.

"Coals will be laid at Preston from Mr. Chadwick's Blackrod Arley and Haigh for one tun of 120 to the hundred 6s 6d, Garstang 7s 8d, Lancaster 8s, Kendal 11s.

" From Haigh one tun of cannel will be laid at Preston at 8s 6d, Garstang 10s, Lancaster 11s 2d, Kendal 13s 4d.

" Before the Duke of Bridgewater brought his Canal to Manchester and the Newton Colleries were opened Walkden Moor Colleries Middleton Clifton Oldham &c. were sufficient to supply that town. But now being sold at a cheaper rate the Duke of B's Colleries at Worsley the large Colleries at Newton Lane and those colleries that served them before are not altogether able to supply the town of Manchester to its full demand.

" If this proposal should take place we apprehend that Liverpool may be one of the first coal ports in England. By this regulation of the tunnage it would enable the Liverpool merchants to come for coal and cannel to those great repositories at Charnock Chorley Burnley Clayton Darwen Duxbury Coppul Adlington Blackrod Arley and Haigh. They have such quantities of bass and rubbish coal which will enable them to burn it (limestone) so cheap that the consumption will be immense" (*Bolton Hist. Gleanings*, 1883, pp. 31-52).

In 1791, the number of collieries in Oldham parish was fourteen; in 1807, fourteen; and in 1813, twenty-five; and the coalpits in the parish were, in 1813, about thirty-two. In 1776, the number of hands employed in coalmining in the parish was estimated at four hundred (Shaw's *Oldham Local Notes*, iii. 79).

In 1792, we read in Walker's *Tour from London to the Lakes:* "That excellent coal called cannel is got under the town [of Wigan] and in its neighbourhood in great abundance. Besides making the most brilliant fire, this coal is capable of being turned into snuffboxes and many other useful and ornamental toys. Many families have a cannel-pit in their back-yard and when they are in want of coals they send down a collier who will dig as many in a few hours as will serve the family many months. The pit is then shut up. Wigan has produced many excellent self-taught mechanics. Dick Melling's bucket-engine drained a valuable cannel mine for many years at a small expense. Indeed the machinery necessary in such extensive coalworks has called forth the genius and invention of many more mechanics that do honour to human abilities" (*Palatine Note-book*, ii. 275).

In December, 1793, James Manchester, of Great Bolton, was engaged in carrying into his house a cartload of "blind-fire," the price of which was 4½d. per hundred. Blindfire was small coal or coaldust (*Bolton Hist. Gleanings*, pp. 279, 280).

Some years prior to 1795 thick veins of coal were accidentally discovered in Sir George Warren's lands at Poynton, four miles from Stockport, in sinking a well for a tenant (Aikin's *Manchester*, 441).

It is only of recent years that the workings of the coal-mines of Lancashire and Cheshire extended for any great distance from the shaft. It was found more convenient to sink a new shaft down to the seam, than to sprag, prop, and wall extensive roads underground. In the deeper range of sinkings, however, the pits of the Lancashire and Cheshire coalfield have now taken the lead. The Astley deep pit at Dukinfield reached a depth of three hundred and fifty fathoms in 1858; at Rosebridge, Wigan, a depth of four

hundred and eight fathoms was attained in 1869; and the great mine of the Ashton Moss Colliery, Audenshaw, near Manchester, on 5th March, 1881, was sunk to four hundred and forty-eight fathoms, or two thousand six hundred and eighty-eight feet, more than two-and-a-half times the height of the Eiffel Tower (Galloway's *Coalmining*, p. 265).

Coal leases generally contain a number of words of a more or less peculiar character, *e.g.*, one of a mine at Hulton in 1839 gives the lessee power to "sink win work form and excavate pits grooves shafts outstrokes drifts trenches sluices waygates watergates and watercourses" and to use "all the airways and airpassages now existing." The lessee was to pay "rents quarterages renders tolls duties and other reservations"; the lease included "the basses lying immediately over and covering the veins and seams"; the lessee had full power "to ruck the coal and cannel" and "to erect whimsies"; "all faults and throws" were excluded in calculating the quantity of coal "gotten," but "all pillars walls and ranges, and all pillars to support water levels airgaits and pit shafts" were included; the lessee covenanted to "drive sufficient airgates and watergates and leave sufficient walls ranges and pillars for keeping open the drifts watergates and airgates"; the lessor had liberty "to view that the same mines are properly wrought," and at the end of the term the lessee was "to cop and ditch up and plant with quickwood all such gaps as shall be made in any of the present fences." Space, however, will not admit of explanations being given of these and other quaint terms, such as datallers, jig-brows, butties, &c.

SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF A TUDOR MANUSCRIPT, RELATING TO THE SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, BETWEEN THE TWENTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH; TOGETHER WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT OF DR. THOMAS LEGH, ONE OF THE LORD PRESIDENT'S PRINCIPAL VISITORS OF THE SAME.

BY FRANK RENAUD, M.D., F.S.A.

A CONTEMPORARY, but anonymous, manuscript, written out on twenty-eight folio pages, carefully compiled in the courthand of the sixteenth century, having recently come into my possession through the kindness of a friend, who gathered it up at a London bookstall, I have thought its contents of sufficient value and interest to bring them under the notice of this Society, in whose transactions, should they be thought worthy to find a place, they may afford a condensed and convenient medium for future reference.

At the first glance, an accustomed observer will realise that the MS. is either an official document gone astray from proper custody, or else a copy made from one. It is entitled "The Boke y^{e} dissolutōn of Abbeis," and contains a record of six hundred and sixty-one dissolved abbeys, monasteries,

priories, nunneries, and friaries, together with a few colleges, hospitals, cells, and preceptories. Two hundred and ninety-two of these are written down in alphabetical order, along with the regnal years, months, and days of months on which they were severally surrendered; whereas, the remainder are grouped under their respective counties, with a general heading, written: "Mories and Abbes dissolvyd by th' acte A° xxvij," together with a marginal memorandum, "it is to be pinn'd N° 21, H^y viij." To this latter group nothing beyond the regnal year is appended. It embraces three hundred and sixty-nine of the smaller religious houses, having yearly revenues not exceeding £200; and thirteen monastic institutions possessed of annual incomes on a larger scale, viz., Buckland, Roche, Ribston, St. Mary Magdalene (Lincoln), Tynemouth, Barking, Thetford, St. Benet's Hulme, Chicksand, Godstowe, Tarent, Athelney, and Boxley.

Before venturing to ask the Society's attention to this MS., its anonymity made it incumbent on me to devote much time and careful consideration towards verifying the accuracy of its contents, and collating them with printed records of acknowledged credit, so as either to establish its intrinsic value or otherwise worthlessness. This process of collation has been made all the more tedious and difficult from the circumstance that the names of so many religious houses have been written down in methods more antiquated than is at present observed; also from the fact that numbers of priories in one county are found to be dependencies, as cells or otherwise, on abbeys in other parts of the country. Nevertheless, the original spelling has been scrupulously followed in transcription, so that if, in some instances, I have been obliged to infer rather than prove identification, the text will serve to correct errors of rendering.

To this end, the six folio volumes of Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon*, as enlarged by Messrs. Ellis, Caley, and Bandinel,

have been searched, besides all the principal details collected by Dr. Tanner in his *History of Religious Houses*, published in 1695; and where information from these two principal sources has been withheld, Jones's *Originalia*, county histories, &c., have been placed under requisition.

Quite irrespective of the fact that so many details of this important chapter of English history have been compressed into a small and readily accessible compass, one main merit of this MS. will be found to lie in the regnal years, months, and days of months, being recorded in all but five of the two hundred and ninety-two dissolutions, written out in alphabetical order. Of this number, one monastery was dissolved in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII., seven in the twenty-seventh year, eight in the twenty-eighth year, twenty in the twenty-ninth year, one hundred and seventy-four in the thirtieth, fifty-nine in the thirty-first year, three in the thirty-second year, one in the thirty-third year, one in the thirty-fourth year, three in the thirty-fifth year, six in the thirty-sixth year, and one in the thirty-seventh or penultimate year of this monarch's reign; thus showing that the dissolutions were spread over a longer interval of time than has been commonly estimated.

A calculation of the entire number of religious houses set down in the MS. gives the following results, viz.:—

Abbeys - - - - - - - - - - - - -	82
Monasteries - - - - - - - - - - - -	100
Priories - - - - - - - - - - - - -	245
Nunneries, so designated in the MS.* -	34

* These nunneries are arranged in a class apart from others having abbreviated prefixes attached. Thus, Abb Mon, and Por Mon, signify for the most part a religious house having a Lady Abbess, or Prioress, at the head, *i.e.*, Abbatia Monialium, and Prioratus Monialium, though some exceptions are met with, when the latter abbreviations are to be understood to denote Prioratus Monachorum. Moreover, the mixed or Gilbertine priories must be taken into account.

Friaries	31
Hospitals	40
Colleges	20
Cells	14
Commanderies and Preceptories	11
Chantries	4
Minsters	2
Cathedral Churches	2
Chapels	1
Unclassed	75
Total	661

A further analysis of the alphabetically arranged group with a corresponding one in the *Monasticon* showed that, whereas the regnal years, with months and days of surrender, are given in two hundred and eighty-seven instances in the MS., only one hundred and thirty-three of the same are treated as exhaustively in the *Monasticon*, in which latter an additional forty-six want dates altogether. In Dr. Tanner's work, dates are scarcely mentioned at all.

In one hundred and six out of the above one hundred and thirty-three entries there is an exact correspondence in dates, and only such a slight variation in the remaining twenty-seven as to be practically insignificant. This being so, the authenticity of the MS. may be taken to stand unimpeached.

The next question was, how far the religious houses recorded in the MS. represented a fairly exhaustive list of suppressions, or a part only of such as came within the limitations of the regnal years already alluded to; and I am free to admit the answer is not one to be readily given; for, although the MS. is not exhaustive, so also do the printed authorities differ in their estimates.

It will be recollected that six hundred and sixty-one religious houses are written down as dissolved in the MS.

Camden puts down the whole number at six hundred and forty-five. Dr. Tanner, enlarging on Dugdale, places them at six hundred and sixty. Fuller, taking for authority records in the *Court of First Fruits and Tenths*, fixes the number at seven hundred and fifty-four, but adds that probably one hundred and ten dissolved hospitals were included in the enumeration. In Poynter's *Chronological History* the number is stated to have been eight hundred and seventy-four exclusive of colleges and hospitals, but then he ranges over longer periods. I purposely exclude from the above calculations chantries and free chapels, as such were disposed of to the number of two thousand three hundred and seventy-four in the succeeding reign of Edward VI., though the Act was passed in that of his father. It should likewise be considered that, ten years before the passing of the first Act for suppressing smaller religious houses embraced in the later pages of the MS., Cardinal Wolsey had obtained licence from the pope to dissolve twenty-two small priories towards founding and endowing his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, the last of which "fell with him."

As ecclesiastical historians and chroniclers have differed so widely, perhaps I cannot do better than sum up the whole matter in Fuller's words and phraseology, the more so as both he and Dugdale drew their information from records preserved in the Augmentation Office, set up in the 27th Henry VIII., but subsequently dissolved as proving too slow and cumbrous for the occasion, a circumstance which may help to show how it happened that exact dates were better preserved in the MS. than when more rough-and-ready methods came to be substituted.

Fuller begins by saying, "Henry the 8th, his expenses like sandy ground, suddenly sucking up the larger Shower of Abbey-lands, he made three meals of them, or if you will,

one meal of three courses, besides what Cardinal Wolsey (the king's taster therein) had eat beforehand when consuming smaller houses to endow his two colleges:

1st When religious houses under 200 a year were granted to him by Parliament in - - - 1535
2d When all greater houses were granted in - - 1538
3d When Colleges, Chantries, and Free Chapels were granted in - - - - - - - - - - 1545"

It is matter of English history that the first Act for suppressing smaller monasteries was passed late in the year 1535, the second in 1539, the third in 1540 for dissolving those of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the fourth in 1545 for the surrender of colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and guilds; the major part of these latter remaining undestroyed till 1548, after the king's death.

The instructions given to the visiting commissioners were ample in scope and minute in detail, and can be referred to in Fuller's *Church History.* Wiltshire and Cambridgeshire came first, and shortly afterwards the extensive province of York, with the bishoprics of Lichfield and Coventry, in which the county of Chester was then included. Drs. Layton and Legh were appointed joint visitors for these latter districts, and a full report from them to the Lord President has recently been printed in the tenth volume of *Letters and State Papers, temp. Henry VIII.* This return bears date February, 1536.

Out of one hundred and fifty-four monasteries, priories, and nunneries visited in the northern and midland counties, only thirty-eight escaped scathless; whilst grave charges of laxity, immorality, and puerile superstitious practices on the laity were recorded in detail of all the remainder.

Into the particulars of this state paper it is not desirable to enter, the more so as it is open to inspection by the curious inquirer; though it is but proper to state that a

scrutiny of the long list does not exhibit the smaller houses in a less favourable light than the larger monasteries, as the enactment afterwards averred. After making due allowance for any unseemly haste with which this commission was executed, and taking into account the political bias of the visitors, together with a modicum, it may be, of unfairness and illiberality, enough remained to warrant the king's council in concluding that the testimony, taken as a whole, was sufficiently valid; and, as things were going from bad to worse, the best and only remedy was that of taking the smaller establishments into the royal hands.

Beyond this it forms no part of my present purpose to go; and as it is so difficult to read history aright, and much more so to write concerning controverted events unbiassed by preconceived opinions, and as state papers bearing on this chapter of English annals yet remain to be published, calculated to throw further light and learning upon them, I prefer taking up a neutral position, contenting myself with the casual remark that even extracts from these state papers, given without legitimate contexts, may be made as misleading as information gathered together from sources much less reliable. Moreover, the mere circumstance of bringing this MS. under notice imposes upon me no such obligation. All that need be said is that, when one party was bent on allowing matters in ecclesiastical polity to proceed onwards in their accustomed channels, and another in altering them root and branch, the respective advocates for dissolution and reformation, or otherwise, would naturally enough see nothing but wickedness and self-seeking in those who may have worked, and perhaps did labour, as honestly in one direction as in the other. Where opinions differed so widely, like parallel lines, they were as little likely to meet in the Tudor days as they seem to be at the present time. The period was one of transition, when, the Wars of the Roses

being ended, the lay elements of English life and thought were ripening for larger freedom of action, and awakening to a conviction that bygone clerical preponderance, as then exhibited in the abbeys and monasteries scattered broadcast over the country, was growing out of harmony and proportion to the lay requirements, overshadowing aspirations fostered by a revival of literature and learning.

But for this, or something analogous, Henry's waywardness and domestic delinquencies would have proved hindrances, rather than aids, towards effecting the momentous changes then simmering and seething in the brains of a proud and powerful nobility, of a sturdy commonalty, of many advanced scholars, and of advocates for reform, alike at home and abroad. With all his faults—and they were many—the king was a statesman of no mean ability; and even that impartial chronicler, Dr. Tanner, was fain to notice the patent fact that the greatest activity in founding and refounding religious houses was within the first one hundred and fifty years following the Conquest; and that afterwards, though many friaries, chantries, hospitals, and colleges came into existence, but few houses for monks, nuns, and canons were added, so that the nation in general seemed to have quite lost its taste for these institutions a great while before their subversion.

Chapuis, whose testimony has recently been quoted as that of an unimpeachable witness, appears to me to have established a claim, in more instances than one, to the definition once given by Dr. Johnson of an ambassador, as when he wrote to the emperor saying twenty thousand monks and nuns were wandering about homeless, after the suppression of the smaller monasteries; whereas every other credible historian has placed the number at one half, and added that pensions and annuities had been granted to them, together with the doubled option of being freed from vows when

declared irksome, or of swelling the diminished numbers of occupants in the larger abbeys and monasteries, by entering into them and becoming residents. On this latter head, and in contradistinction to an oft-repeated assertion that these pensions were doled out perfunctorily, much valuable information may be gleaned from the forty-ninth report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, where a full list of pensions to abbots, priors, and others is given, which will be found to have been discharged with commendable punctuality and regularity. None the less, an impartial reader of history must realise that great hardships, and injustices too, would frequently attend upon a forcible uprooting of ancient religious communities (however much some of them may have been out of harmony with the times), through the edicts of an obsequious Parliament, goaded on by such an autocratic monarch as Henry, who was an astute theologian withal; who so recently had been dubbed *fidei defensor* by a papacy he dared to abjure and defy; whose *sic volo* was tantamount to his *sic jubeo;* who accounted it neither unkingly nor unconstitutional to tell his quasi advisers he would either have their assents or their heads; who could keep a cardinal kneeling and pleading in vain for an hour together; who thought it no shame to box his successor's ears; who could order the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to tie recalcitrants up to trees wholesale, leaving them to hang, as examples to others; and who stood greatly in need of money to replenish a quickly-exhausted treasury. But after conceding thus much, it may be permissible to question the wisdom and *bona fides* of some modern writers who have attributed this monarch's main inducement, throughout these transactions, to have been greed rather than statecraft, or to have ignored the patent fact that the forcible removal of monastic properties was anything beyond an episode in a long series of well-considered

schemes which shook the foundations of the civil and religious life of the English nation to their centre, and paved the way to changes that have altered their currents from that time to this.

But history repeats itself, and any future biographer, writing on the American Civil War and holding pronounced Southern proclivities, by descending from generalities into particulars, will find as little difficulty in raking together instances of individual hardships, sufferings, and wrongs endured in this nineteenth century, from secular motives, as were sustained by our forebears in a much ruder age, by communities whose antecedents would make an enforced change from privacy to publicity peculiarly irksome and embarrassing in an ecclesiastical upheaval.

With these brief introductory observations on the MS., I pass on to speak of Dr. Legh more fully and correctly than has been done hitherto, partly because he was one of the Lord President's principal and energetic visitors of religious houses, and in part also for the reason that, although he proves to have been distantly related to the family of Legh, of Adlington, in Cheshire, his name was inadvertently and erroneously included by me in its direct descent and succession when writing about Prestbury parish, some years ago, for one of the Chetham Society publications. Another reason is that Chapuis, ambassador to the court of Henry VIII. from Charles V., described the doctor as a "mean person" when writing to his master, the Emperor; though the principal one lies in the circumstance that, however widely opinions may vary concerning the actors and actions of particular individuals engaged in these suppressions, it must be conceded that Dr. Legh has become a more or less historical personage by reason of the prominent part he played in them; and also that, from being identified with the county of Chester, his antecedents make such an inquiry

peculiarly appropriate in a society devoted to the elucidation of local historical events and family devolutions.

Thomas Legh, LL.D., was descended from Sir William Legh, younger brother of Robert Legh the first, of Adlington, by Sir John de Legh and Ellen de Corona, *temp.* Edward III. This Sir William, by his marriage with Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Multon, of Isall, in Cumberland, was brought into close connection with some of the most notable northern border families, laying the foundation of that of Legh of Isall, which continued in unbroken male succession into the reign of James I., when, in the quaint phraseology of John Denton, of Cardew, who died in 1617, "old Thomas Lighe, the last of the name, gave it to his wife, Maud Redmain, whom he married, being a widow, after the death of his first wife, a lusty young gentlewoman, who granted it presently after his death to Wilfrid Lawson, her present husband."*

In the reign of Henry VIII., John Legh was representative of the family, and he received from this king a confirmation of the grant of Isall manor that had originally been bestowed on Thomas de Multon in the reign of Henry III. This John Legh was sheriff of Cumberland, and deputy warden of the marches between England and Scotland, his cousin, Sir Christopher Dacre, being lord warden. He was cousin, in the modern acceptation of this term, to Sir James Leybourne, to Dr. Rowland Legh, and to Dr. Thomas Legh, the subject of this notice. The family, therefore, far from being mean, was one of established repute in Cumberland, with powerful and influential connections, distantly related also to the Leghs, of Middleton, in Yorkshire, as well as to the parent stock in Cheshire, derived from Venables, baron of Kinderton.

* See Chancellor Ferguson's *Account of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland.* Edited for the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society. 1887.

Writing to Sir Thomas Cromwell, in 1532, John Legh thanked him for his goodness to his cousins, Dr. Rowland and Dr. Thomas Legh; and when this latter had occasion to communicate with Sir Thomas Cromwell about the violent death of his kinsman, John, son and heir of William Bardsey, of Furness, who had been murdered, he designated Sir John Leybourne, his cousin (see *Letters and State Papers*). Of Dr. Rowland Legh's parentage, a notice can be seen in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, where he is stated to have been one of the sons of William Legh, of Morpeth, treasurer of Berwick, by Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Andrew Trollope. Incidental mention is made in *Letters and State Papers* of a brother George, prebend of Bishopshill, Lichfield, and of a sister. After filling the offices of archdeacon of Taunton, king's chaplain, and master in chancery, Dr. Rowland Legh was consecrated bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, which then embraced Chester, in 1534, and was appointed president of the council in the marches of Wales during the time when the incorporation of this principality with England was being effected. Whilst holding this appointment, he repaired the castles of Ludlow and Brecknock.

Regarding the Christian name of Dr. Thomas Legh's father, my search has been less successful. His uncle was Dr. Wythers, prebendary of St. Paul's (*Letters*, &c.). He rose into distinction early in life, for when he went on his first embassy to the King of Denmark, in 1533, he was designated the "young doctor" and "young Dr. Legh." After returning to England in the autumn of 1534 he was employed as Archbishop Cranmer's deputy for the citation of Queen Catherine before him, at Dunstable. In 1535, he was occupied in visiting religious houses in Wiltshire and Cambridgeshire, and reporting on them to the lord president. When in Wiltshire, he was associated with John ap Rice, and the two did not agree well together, for Rice,

writing a complaining letter to Cromwell, from Warden House, said his brother commissioner, being only a young man, but by nature of a high courage, and having wit and audacity enough, was withal too insolent and pompous, and handled the fathers very roughly, often making them meet him at the door; that more modesty would purchase him more reverence, and that being young and of intolerable elation, and excessive in taking, religious men were never so much afraid of Dr. Allen as of him. Finally, he charged him with going about with twelve waiting men in livery, besides his own brother.

To all of these complaints Legh promptly replied, as one of his social standing might properly do that, as touching his triumphant and sumptuous usage and gay apparel he used himself no otherwise than he did before, and wore no garments but such as he had worn in London these two years; and that, through Cromwell's means, having had of the King an old gown of velvet, he thought he could not do better than wear it in the King's and Cromwell's service. He denied having used rigour at any time or place, and as for his brother, he wrote that having buried his wife of late, and not being very expert in the world, he willed him to ride with him to see countries and manners of men, and for no other cause, and that he had sent him for a time to my lord of Chester. Rice's letter has thus unwittingly brought to light some further family details which might not have otherwise been forthcoming and available.

Cromwell, apparently satisfied with this explanation, dissolved the connection, and forthwith sent instructions to Legh to repair alone to Cambridge for ordering things there, who in the October following reported that the University was not only very joyful at the injunction, but that nothing was ever better for students, with the exception of three or four pharisaical Pharisees. Cambridge being thus disposed

of, Legh proceeded to Ely, visiting almost all the diocese, the bishop reporting him to have behaved there as discreetly as he had done at Cambridge.

So far from any taint of *hauteur* or unfairness having clung to his conduct of this visitation, he only reported one solitary instance of misconduct amongst the recluses in the whole diocese, and this was in the case of Sopham nunnery, where he wrote "he had not only found things much out of order, but that my lady had given a benefice to a friar whom they say she loves well; and that the said friar was noted throughout the county, and that all the sisters of Sopham were naught, together with the prioress."

Whilst this visitation was proceeding, Dr. Laton had written to Cromwell, in June, suggesting that himself and Legh should be appointed joint commissioners for the approaching visitation of the northern counties, to begin at Lincoln and go to the Scottish border, down one side and up another, assigning as a special reason that neither monk, canon, friar, prior, abbot, or any other could hide any knavery from them, as they had familiar acquaintance within ten or twelve miles of every religious house, and could themselves suffer no injury, as their friends and kinsfolk were dispersed in every place ready to assist them if any stubborn or sturdy carl proved rebellious.

Following on their report, and the subsequent enactment already alluded to, came the northern rising, known familiarly as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," in the midst of which Dr. Legh had a narrow escape of being killed, not so much, it was said, because of his having been one of the visitors, as from the fact of his having been Cromwell's instrument for the citation of Queen Catherine before Archbishop Cranmer, at Dunstable. Unluckily for him, the doctor's cook fell into the hands of the insurgents, whom they hanged vicariously. Unsatisfied with this somewhat illogical revenge, they next

petitioned the lords of the council to pass condign punishment on both commissioners; but the simple word "Ney," written on the margin of the document, is the only answer that has been preserved.

It is needless to pursue the doctor's public career further, and, were it otherwise, the material for so doing is not yet forthcoming. Apart from panegyric or apology, common fairness obliges me to say that I have not found any specific facts recorded against him of "excessive taking" or unfairness, though doubtless some of the pill's gilding was rubbed off in the handling.

That he survived the troublous reign of Henry VIII. is undoubted, as the site of Caldwell priory, Bedfordshire, was granted to him in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth.

For the fact that he was married and left issue male, we are indebted to John Denton's narrative, seeing that his grandson, Ferdinando, inherited Calder abbey estate, which Henry VIII. had granted to the doctor and his heirs, in 1538. The same author says that Dr. Legh purchased Salter's Hill, in Allerdale, after the dissolution of religious houses, which estate Henry, son of Thomas, and grandson of William, Dr. Legh's brother, sold.

Lastly, it is stated in a pedigree of the Leghs, of Adlington, compiled towards the middle of last century, that Sir Henry Legh, of Isall, and Rowcliffe, in Cumberland, and of Eggington, in Derbyshire, married Mary, daughter of Sir Urian Legh, of Adlington, sometime towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign or the early part of that of James; and, should this prove correct, the departure of the early progenitors of the Leghs of Isall from the parent stock, and their re-alliance through marriage, after the lapse of so long a time, with an ultimate descendant of the Isall offshoot will be an interesting episode in family history, though its establishment will almost necessarily imply that the above

Sir Henry predeceased his father without leaving issue, as otherwise "old Sir Thomas" could not have disposed of Isall to Maud Redmain.

Were other evidence of blood relationship wanting to show an alliance between the houses of Adlington, Isall, and Middleton, the armorials would supply the missing link, all of them being founded on those of Venables, Barons of Kinderton, in Cheshire, viz., azure, two bars argent. Thus Sir John Venables of Booths differed the paternal arms with a bend gules. His second son, the first Legh of Adlington, bore the bend componée or and gules. His third son, Sir William Legh, the first of Isall, again differenced the bend, making it chequy or and gules; whilst the Leghs of Middleton, in 1530 (see Tonge's *Visitation of Northern Counties*), bore their arms the same as Adlington, as indeed the Leghs of Isall did in the course of time (Edmondson's *Heraldic Dictionary*).

A

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Abendon Abb̄ - - -	ix Febr - -	xxix°	Bark
Athelney Abb̄ - - -	viij febr - -	xxx°	Somersh
Abbotesbury Abb̄ - - -	xij Mē - -	xxx°	Dorsh
Alvingham Comendat in porat de Alvingham	xxix Sept - -	xxx°	Lincoln
Augustini sci Mon̄ jux Mur Cit Cant	Ultio Julii -	xxx°	Kanc
Augustinen por domus frm̄ Cit London	xij Novembr -	xxx°	London
Acon als dict hospitlis Sci Thome de Avon London	xx Octobr -	xxx°	London
Ardingston por bte M^le [Arthington]	xxvj Novemb -	xxxj°	Ebor
Alnewyke Abb Mon bte M^le -	xxij Dec - -	xxxj°	Northumbr
Alba Lunda Abb Mon bte M^r [Whiteland]	xviij Dec -	xxxj°	Northumbr

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Augustn bristolme Sci Albani	ix Aplis	xxviij°	
Andreas Sci Appli Northe Ardington	ij^do Mc	xxix°	Northumbr
	B		
Bislington por [Bilsington]	xxviij febr	xxvij°	Kent
Bisham por	v^to Julie	xxviij°	Bark
Bello loco P. Ac. Abb al beaulieu	ij^do Aplis	xxix°	Southt
Boxley Abb [Kent]	xxix Januar	xxix	
Butley	pmo Mc	xxix°	Suff
Bitlesden Por [Buckinghamsh.]	xxv Sept	xxx°	
Bedford gard	iij Octo	xxx°	Bedf
Brewton abb	j Aplis	xxx°	Somsh
Bridgwater Sci Jō Bapti	vij febr	xxx°	Somst
Barnestoke por' [Badenstoke ?]	xxviij febr	xxx°	Wiltesh
Buckeland Abb	Ultiō febr	xxx°	Devon
Buckeland hospitlis sci Johis Bapta [a preceptory]	xj febr	xxx°	Somsh
Bath por ecclie Cath sci salvat bte petri et Pauli	vij Januar	xxx°	Somsh
Bodmyn por' bte Marie sci Petr	xxvij Febr	xxx°	Cornub
Buckefast Abbie bte Marie	xxv febr	xxx°	Devon
Bellalaunda Mon bte Marie [Byland]	Ulto Nov	xxx°	Ebor
Bolton porat Canonicor	xxix Januar	xxx°	
Byndon Abb bte Marie Virg	xiiij Mc	xxx°	Dorsh
Bordsley Mon	xvij Julii	xxx°	Wygorn
Blackfriers London	xij Novembr	xxx°	London
Bisham Abb	xix Junii	xxx°	Bark
Bello loco Abb [Beaulieu, Beigham, or Bayham]	xvij Maii	xxx°	Suss
Bardney Mon sci Oswald	pmo Novembr	xxx°	Lincoln
Brewood poriss	xvj Octo	xxx°	Staff
Brusard Abb Mon	xvij febr	xxx°	Staff
Barthe sci por in Novo Castr [St. Cuthbert's Cell at Fern Island ?]	iij Januar	xxx°	Novu Castru
Burton sup Trentham Mon bte Marie	xiv Novemb	xxx°	Staff

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Non Appulton Mon sci Johis Bapte	v^to decemb	xxx°	Ebor
Buri sci Edmund	iiij^to nembr	xxxj°	Suff
Burneham Abbie bte Marie	August	xxxj°	Buck
Bevell pôr sci Trint [or Beauvale]	xviij Julii	xxxj°	Nott
Burndishe Cant	ij August	xxxvj°	Suff
Burndishe Cant ad altar bte Marie in ecclia sci Andree de Burneshe	xxv July	xxvj°	Suff
Barmondsey [Surrey]	viij febr	xxx°	
Battell als bello [Sussex]	xxvij Mc	xxx°	
Bolton [Bolton Hospital, Northumberland ?]	pmo Aplis	xxx°	
Bury [Bury College in Suffolk ?]	viij Sept	xxx°	
Barnewell porat	viij Novemb	xxx°	Cantabr
Barkinge sci Ethelburgh Virg	xiiij Novemb.	xxxj	Essex
Bartho sci porat jux Cit London	xxv octo	xxxj	Midh
	C		
Coggeshall Abb	v^to febr	xxix°	Essex
Castell acr por	xxij^do Novemb:	xxix°	Norf
Carthush London	x° Junii	xxix°	London
Camellitar por in Northt	xx octobr	xxx°	Northt
Coventre Grey friers	v octobr	xxx°	Warw
Coventre porat Carmilit	pmo octo	xxx°	Warw
Cerne abb bte Mar sc Petr Appl et sci Edward de Cerne	xv Mr	xxx°	Dorsh
Cockersand Abb bte Marie Virg	xxix Januar	xxx°	Lanc
Carmilet porat in cit Ebor	xxvij No	xxx°	Ebor C^t
Canonleighe Abb Mon bte Marie et Sci Johis Evangelist	xvj febr	xxx°	Devon
Caltercote por	xxij August	xxx°	Lincoln
Cumbermere Abb	xxvij July	xxx°	Chestr
Crossed friers ordinis sci Crucis London	xij Novemb.	xxx°	London
Chatton's Abb bte Marie Virg [Chateris]	3 Sept	xxx°	Cantab
Croxton Abb	vij Sept	xxx°	Leic

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	
Crottesden Abb bte Marie Virg [Croxden]	xvij Sept - -	xxx°	S
Clement sci vulgar nuncupat le Clack friers in le asshes	x° Novembr -	xxx°	le
Carthush domus Mon jux Coventre	xvj Januar -	xxx°	W
Combe Mon - - - - -	xxj Januar -	xxx°	W
Carmelet domus por de Nottingham [surrendered Feb. 5, 1539]	v^to^ febr - -	3° [?]	N
Cest por Mon bte Marie i bm [St. Werburgh's]	xxj Januar -	xxxj°	C
Cathed Ecclie sci Cutbti de Derham	v^to^ Dec - -	xxxj°	D
Carlisle prior Mon bete Marie -	x Januar - -	xxxj°	Cu
Cantuarien Colleg in Civitat oxon [Christ's Church, or St. Frideswildes]	x Aprilis - -	xxxj°	Ox
Cirencestr Mon - - -	xvij Novemb -	xxxj°	Glo
Clarkenwell prior - - -	xxv Januar -	xxx°	Mi
Chester [the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary ?]	viij Septemb -	xxx°	Ce
Chanterbury - - - -	viij Septemb -	xxx°	Ka
Carmelet frm London - -	x Novemb -	xxx°	Lo
Chartsey Abb. [Surrey] - -	vj^t^ July - -	xxix°	
Catly Prior [Catteley in Lincolnshire]	xxv° Septembr -	xxx°	
	D		
Dovor prior - - - -	xvj° Novemb -	xxviij	Kan
Dunkeswell Abb - - -	xiiij Febru -	xxx	Devo
Donnington Minster Donnis frm ordinis sci trintat apud Donnington	Ultimo Novembr	xxx	Bark
Doncaster Villat prior frm Minor als dict francist infra Villa de Doncaster	x° Novembr -	xxx°	Ebor
Darleigh Abb Mon bete Marie Virgin [Dale]	xxij Octobr -	xxx°	

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Dale Mon bte Marie Virg [Darley Dale ?]	xiiij - - -	3° [?]	Darbie
Darteford - - - - -	xj Octobr - -	xxxj°	
Devolin - - - - - -	viij° Sept - -	xxx°	
Darbie fries pd pudf? [preaching friars]	iij^do Januar -	xxx°	Darbie
	E		
Exholme por dom visitac bte Marie Virg in insula Exholme			
Egid sci London - - -	ij Junii - -	xxviij°	London
Exon sci Johis Bapte infra port orien	xx° Febr - -	xxx°	Devon ce Exon
Edmyton dom Mon aun frer [? Edingdon, or Hedington—Austin Friary]	ultio mc - -	xxx°	Wiltesh
Elena sce Prior - - -	xxv Novembr -	xxx°	London
Ensam Abb - - - -	iiij^to dec - -	xxx°	Exon
Ebor Cit prior Carmilit - -	xxvij Novembr -	xxx°	Ebor Cit
Ebor por frm August - -	xxviij Novembr -	xxx°	Ebor Cit
por frm Minor infra Mur Ebor	xx Novemb -	xxx°	Ebor Cit
on sci Johis Bapte - -	v^to Januar -	xxxj°	Richemond
owe Abb Mon bte Marie ginis sci Benedict [Elstow]	xxvj August -	xxxj°	Bedford
d por bte Marie [Irford, or ford]	viij July - -	xxx°	Lincoln
ab sce Coll sive Capelle pre Winton	xvij Mrii - -	xxxij^do	South^t
Egid sci de Keipeyre Hospitlis jux dinolinensh	xiiij Januar -	xxxvj^to	Durham
Evesham Mon - - -	xvij Novemb -	xxxj°	Wigorn
Ederosh - - - - -	xj Octobr - -	xxxj°	Wiltesh
Ellerton porat ordinis sci gilbti in Sympringham	xj Dec - -	xxx°	
	F		
Folkeston por - - - -	xv Novemb -	xxvij°	Kanc
Furnes Abb. - - - -	ix aplis - -	xxviij°	Lanc
Ford Abb - - - -	viij Mc - -	xxx°	Devon

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Feversam Abb sci salvat - -	viij Julij - -	xxx°	Kanic
Furdam als Bigginge por sci Petri et Mar Magd	pmo Sept -	xxx°	Cantabr
Fountaines Mon bte Marie de fontibs	xxvj Novemb -	xxxj°	Ebor
Fosse porat ordinis sci barnard -	xj Julij - -	xxxj°	Lincoln
	G		
Grey frieis Northt - - -	xxviij Octob -	xxx°	North^{t}
Grey frieis Coventre - -	v^{to} Octobr -	xxx°	Warw
Grymesbye le Grey frierie -	ix Octobris -	xxx°	Lincoln
Gisbourne por bte M^{re} in Cleveland	xxij dec - -	xxxj°	Ebor
Godstowe Abb ordinis sci Benedict	xvij Novem -	xxxj°	Oxon
Grace dei als Gracedeu - -	xxvij Octo -	xxx°	Leic
	H		
Hornebie por [cell attached to Croxton Abbey, Leicestershire]	xxiij febr - -	xxvij°	
Holme Cultrum Abb - -	vj Mrcii - -	xxix°	Cumberland
Hynton porat - - - -	ultio mrcii -	xxx°	Somsh
Hartland Abb sci Nitain ordinis sc Augusto	xxij febr - -	xxx°	Devon
Hida Comendator Mon Ecclie Sci Petri Appli de Hida	Aplis - -	xxx°	Southt
Halesowen Abb Mon bte Marie Virg	ix° Junii - -	xxx°	Salopp
Hulton Mon bete Marie Virgin de Hulton als hilton	xviij° februarii -	xxx° xxxviij°	Stafford
Haverholme por - - -	xxiv° Septembr -	xxx°	
Hampole Mon bte Marie Virgin	xix° Novembr -	xxxj	Ebor
Haghman Mon Sci Johis Apli et Evangelist de Haghman	ix° Septembr -	xxxj°	Sallopp
Hayninge prior bete Marie ordinis sci Barnardi	xij° Julii - -	xxxj°	Lincolne
Higham ferris Colleg bete Marie Virgin et sce Thome Marteris		xxxiv°	Northt

I

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Jermain sci in Cornub priorat -	ij° Marcii -	- xxx°	Cornub
Jacobi Sci juxta Northampton -	xxv° August	- xxx°	Northt
Johis Sci bapte hospitall Extra Ratcliffe gate Bristoll [hospital for lepers]	iiij^to^ Marcii	- xxxv°	Bristoll
Johis sci Bapte hospitall in Coventrie	iiij° Marcii	- xxxvj°	Warw
Johis sci bapte hospit sci Trinitat et bete Marie de Ludlowe	xx° Octobr	- xxvij	Sallopp
Johis sci bapte hospit in Wells -	iij februar -	- xxx°	Somsh
Johis sci bapte hospit in Civitat Exon	xx° februar	- xxx°	Devon
Johis sci hospitall in Bridgwater	vij februar	- xxx°	Somsh

K

Kingeswood - - - -	pmo febr -	- xxix°	Wiltesh
Kirkeham por - - - -	viij° dec -	- xxx°	Ebor
Knaresboroughe Minster domus sci Robti inf Knaresborgh	decemb -	- xxx°	Ebor
Keynesham por Mon bte Marie Virg ac Applor Petr et Pauli	xxiij Januar	- xxx°	Somsh
Katherine sce por de Lincolnie [Gilbertine]	xiiij Julij -	- xxx°	Lincoln
Katherine sce por de Leir als the Austen friers [cell to the Alien priory of Leir, in diocese of Evreux]	x° Novembr	- xxx°	Leic
Kirkestall Abb bte Mar - -	xxij Novemb	- xxxj°	Ebor
Kerkeleis por Sci Jacob - -	xxiv Novemb	- xxxj°	Ebor
Kayne por bte Marie Kayne ordinis sci August [Kyme]	vj^to^ Julij -	- xxxj°	Lincoln
Kennelworthe Abb - - -	xv aplis -	- xxix°	Warw
Kingeston sup Hull por dom sci Mich^s^ Archi jux Kingston sup Hull	ix° Novemb	- xxxj°	Kingston sup Hull

L

Langdon Abb - - - -	xiij Novemb	- xxvij°	Kanc

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Lewis por - - - - -	xvj Novemb -	xxix°	Suss
Lacock Abb - - - - -	xxj Januar -	xxx°	Wiltesh
Launceston por - - - -	xxiv febr - -	xxx°	Cornub
Leic abb [St. Mary's de pre, or de pratis]		xxx°	Leic
Lilleshull - - - - -	xvj Octo - -	xxx°	Salopp
Leic gardain sci fraunc nuncupat le Grey friers	x° Novemb -	xxx°	Leic
Leond sci hospitlis jux Cit Ebor	pmo dec - -	xxxj°	Ebor
Ladie in York blessed [St. Mary's]	xvij Novembr -	xxxj°	
	M		
Marton por [Merton] - -	xvj Aplis - -	xxix°	Surr
Muckelney Abb - - -	iij^{cio} Januar -	xxix°	Somsh
Munckebritton als dict Burton ord sci bnedci [Yorkshire]	xxj Novemb -	xxx°	
Middleton Abb Mon Ste Marie et Sci Sampsoni	xj Mcii - -	xxx°	Dorsh
Mairlinge Abb [Malling] -	xxix Octobr -	xxx°	Kanc
Mattersey als Msey por [Nottinghamshire]	iiij^{to} Octobr -	xxx°	
Meryvale Abb Mon bte M^{rie} -	xiij Octobr -	xxx°	Warw
Marie Sce por Mon in Ci^{t} Coventre	xv Januar - -	xxx°	Warw
Marmond Prior. [alien Benedictine Priory of St. Martin, at Marmontier]	xiiij Octobr -	xxx° / xxxviij°	
Mountgrace por bte M - -	xviij dec - -	xxxj	Ebor
Magdalene bte Marie als Mon de Hoppa als Sheppey	iiij^{to} Januar -	xxxj°	Westmland
Melsey Abb Mon bte M [Meaux]	xj decemb -	xxxj°	Ebor
Marie bte Virg Abb jux Ci^{t} Ebor	xxix Novemb -	xxxj°	Ebor
Mawlton comend doms ordinis Sci Cutbti infra Regnu Anglie	xj decembr -	xxxj°	
Munkelinge por Mon - -	x° Sept - -	xxxj°	Ebor
Montague por - - - -	xx Mcii - -	xxx°	Somsh
Malmesbury - - - -	xvij Novembr -	xxxj°	Wiltesh

N

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Northampton prior August	xxviij Octob	xxx°	Northt
Northt dom frm pdic	xx° Octobr	xxx°	Northt
Newneham Abb	viij Mcii	xxx°	Devon
Notley Abbey [Nuttley]	ix decemb	xxx°	Buck
Novu Castr sup Tina domus frm pd	x° Januar	xxx°	Novucastr
Novo bury por [Newburgh]	xxij Januar	xxx°	Ebor
Northalnerton por frm Carmelit als dict frm alloc infra vill de Northalnton	xx° decemb	xxx°	Ebor
Novu Castru sup Tina priorat frm Augustinem	ix° Januar	xxx°	Novu Castru
Novu Castru sup Tinam prior domus Conventuall frm Minor	ix° Januar	xxx°	Novo Castro
Newstead prior	ij° Octobr	xxx°	Lyncolne
Nottingh^{m} domus frm Minor	v° februarii	xxx°	Nottyngham
Domus Carmelet ibm	v°. februarii	xxx°	Notyngeham
Neusham prior bte Marie Virginis Nesshm̄	xxix decemb	xxxj°	Durham
Prior bte Marie de Nuncoton	ix Julii	xxxj°	Lyncolne
Nuneton prior be Marie	vij° September	xxxj°	Warr
Newsted prior bte Marie ordinis Sci Augustini	xxj° Julii	xxxj°	Notynghm̄
Northealverton	xix° Maii	xxvij	Ebor
Neth a Cell in Selby	vij° Septembr	xxx°	
Nestelhe sci Oswaldi p et Prior Mon	xx Novembr	xxxj°	Ebor
Non Apleton Mon sci Johis Bapte	v^{to} Decemb	xxxj°	Ebor

O

Ormesby prior	Ultimo Septemb	xxx°	
Oswaldi sci de Bardney Abb [Lincolnshire]	pmo Novembr	xxx°	
Oswald sci P et prior Mon de Nestelley	xx° Novembr	xxxj°	Ebor
Osethe sce Abb Mon [Chick]	xxvij Julii	xxxj°	Esex
Osney Mon	xvij Novembr	xxxj°	Oxon
Oswald sci Jumstell	viij Sept	xxx°	

H

P

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Pont Robti Abb - - -	xvj Aprilis -	xxx°	Suss
Poulton prior bte Marie Vg [there were two Pultons, one in Cheshire, and another in Wiltshire]	xvj Januar -	xxx°	
Ponte fract Prior [subject to the foreign house of la Charité sur Loire]	xxvj Novembr -	xxx°	Ebor
Plimpton porat - - -	pmo Mcii -	xxx°	Devon
Pollesloe poriss sce Kath - -	xix febr - -	xxx°	Devon
Predic Com frm - - -	xx° Octobr -	xxx°	Warw
Pipwell Abb - - - -	v^to^ Novembr -	xxx°	Northt
Pshore [Pershore] - - -	xvij Novembr -	xxxj°	Wigorn
Peterboroughe - - - -	ix° Aplis - -	xxviij°	
Plymsson [Plympton, Devonshire]	pmo Mcii - -	xxx°	
Pollesworth - - - -	ultio Januar -	xxx°	Warw
Pomfret por - - - -	xxiij Novembr -	xxxj°	Ebor

R

Rivall Abb [Rievall, or Rivaulk, Yorks]	iij^mo^ decembr -	xxx°	
Richemond frm Minor - -	xix° Januar -	xxx°	
Rupe Abb [Roche] - - -	xxiij Junii -	xxx°	Ebor
Ripingdon als Repdon - -	xxv° Octobr -	xxx°	Darbie
Risheworth Colleg - - -	vj^to^ dec - -	xxxiij^m^	Norff
Rochester Abb - - -	viij Sept - -	xxx°	Kanc
Rosseter Abb [Roucester, Staffordsh.]	xvj Sept - -	xxx° / xxxviij	Coven̄

S

Southwike por - - - -	vij° Aplis - -	xxix°	Sutht
Stretford Abb [Stratford Langhorne]	xviij Mcii - -	xxix°	Essex
Stretford white friers - -	viij° Octobr -	xxx°	Lincoln
Stanford August friers - -	vj° Octobris -	xxx°	Lincoln
Stanford fraunc - - -	viij Octobris -	xxx°	Lincoln

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Stanford prich friers - - -	vij° Octobris	- xxx°	Lincoln
Shaston Abb - - - -	xxiij Mcii -	- xxx°	Dorsh
Sempringham Ellerton por ordinis Sci Gilbti	xj° Decembr	- xxx°	
Selby Mon bte Marie [Sulby?] -	xx° Sept -	- xxx°	Northt
Sempringham por [Lincolnshire]	xviij Septembr	- xxx°	
Sixhill por - - - - -	xxvij Septembr	- xxx°	
Sempringham c. Catlie Comend itm offic genall med Sive por ordin de Sempringham c prior priorat de Catly Ejusdm ord [Lincolnshire]	xxv^to^ Sept -	- xxx°	
Sholdham por bte Marie - -	xv octobris	- xxx°	Norfk
Salop [Shrewsbury Abbey] -	xxiv Januar	- xxxj°	Salopp
Swyne por Mon - - -	ix° Sept -	- xxxj°	Ebor
Studley por Ordinis sc bnedc -	xix° Novembr	- xxxj°	Oxon
Southwell Coll - - -	xxij August	- xxxij°	Nott
Sudbury Colleg - - -	ix° Decembr	- xxxvj°	Suff
Sibthorpe Colleg - - -	xvij Aplis -	- xxxvij°	Nott
Slapte Colleg [Slapton Collegiate Church]	vij Novembr	- xxxvij°	Devon
Sherborne Abb - - -	xviij Mcii -	- xxx°	Dorsh
Spaldinge [Lincolnshire] -	viij Sept. -	- xxx°	
Selby sci German - - -	vj^t^ Dec -	- xxxj°	Ebor
	T		
Taltey Abb [Titley] - - -	xxviij° febr	- xxvij°	Essex
Tichfeld Comend - - -	xviij dec -	- xxix	Southt
Thelford dom frm ordinis sci trinitat	xxvj° Octob	- xxx°	Warw
Torre Abb - - - - -	xxiij° febr -	- xxx°	Devon
Taunton prior - - -	xij° febr -	- xxx°	Somsh
Ley Tofte prior jux Cit Ebor [Laithorpe Gate]	xxvij Novembr	- xxx°	Ebor
Tynmouthe - - - - -	xij Januar	- xxx°	Dunolinensh
Tychill por frm Augustin [Yorkshire]	xix Novembr	- xxx°	

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Tavestoke - - - - -	iij^{clo} Maii -	- xxx^{o}	Devon
Tarraunt - - - - -	xiij Mrcii -	- xxx^{o}	Dorsh
Thurgarton - - - -	xiiij Junii -	- xxx^{o}	Nott
Tudburie por - - - -	xiiij^{o} Sept	- xxx^{o}	Staff
Thome Sci M'teris por Mon jux Stafford	xvij Octobris	- xxx^{o}	Staff
Thetford por Mon - - -	xvj febr -	- xxxj	Norf
Thame Abb. - - - -	xvij Novembr	- xxxj^{o}	Oxon
Thomson Colleg [Norfolk] -	xij Mrcii -	- xxxij^{do}	
Tatsall Colleg sci Trinitat -	iiij^{to} febr -	- xxxvj^{to}	Lincoln
	W		
Walden Comendat Mon - -	xxij Mcii -	- xxix^{o}	Essex
Wardon Abb. - - - -	iiij^{t} decemb	- xxix^{o}	beds
Witham Abb. - - - -	xv^{o} Mcii -	- xxx^{o}	Somsh
Wilton - - - - -	xxv Mrcii -	- xxx^{o}	Wiltesh
Wellia domus Sci Johis Bapte -	iij^{o} febr -	- xxx^{o}	Somsh
Wigmore Mon Sci Jacob - -	xviij Novemb	- xxx^{o}	Herefords
Vale Royall Abb - - -	vij^{o} Sept -	- xxx^{o}	Cestr
Workesopp prior ord sci Augustini	xv Novembr	- xxx^{o}	Nott
Wallec Kenoll Med c Custod Colle ibm in Vill Novi Castr sup tinam	x Januar -	- xxx^{o}	Nov Castr
Welbecke - - - -	xx^{o} Junii -	- xxx^{o}	Nott
Wetherall - - - -	xx Octobris	- xxx^{o}	Cumbr
Walsingham por - - -	iiij^{to} August	- xxx^{o}	Norf
Wendlock por - - - -	xxvj Januar	- xxxj^{o}	Salopp
Warborughe sce Mon infra Cit Cestr	xx Januar -	- xxxj^{o}	Cestr
Walton prior - - - -	ix dec -	- xxxj^{o}	Ebor
Waltham Mon - - - -	xxv octobr	- xxxj^{o}	Mids
Ulvescrofte prior - - -	xv Sept -	- xxxj^{o}	Leic
Wulstan Cit Wigorne Colleg Sive Cant in Ecclia de Wingsted	ij^{do} Junii -	- xxxv^{t}	Suff
Westbury Colleg - - -	xviij febr -	- xxxv^{o}	Glouc
Wie Colleg - - - -	xix Januar	- xxxvj^{t}	Kanc
West Dirham [Norfolk]			

Name of Abbey, &c.	Date of Suppression.	Regnal Year.	Diocese or County.
Whitbie - - - - -	ix aplis - -	xxviij°	
Winchecombe - - - - -	ix aplis - -	xxviij	Glouc
Westm - - - - -	viij Sept - -	xxx°	Mids
Winchester - - - - -	viij Sept - -	xxx°	Southt
Worcester - - - - -	viij Sept - -	xxx°	Wigorn
Whytland in Wallia [Caermarthanshire]			
Y			
Yarrowe prior frm predicat [Yarom, near Pontefract?]	Decemb. xxx -		Ebor

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Mories & Abbes dissolvyd by th Acte of A° xxvij

Yt is to be pinnd No. xxj Hy viij

Name of County.	Name of County.
WARWICK	Canonley
Stonley Mon	Frethestoke
Maxstoke Por	Barstaple
Pollesworthe	Pilton
Studley [Stodlegh]	Buckeland
Alceter	CORNUB
Roxhall [Wroxall]	Sci Johis Helston
Purley [? Pinley]	Tywardreth
SOUTHT	BARK
Winton bte Marie	Hurley Mon
Wintney	Donyton Por
Mottesfount	WILTESH
Bremor Por	Stanley Abb
Lesoloco Mon [? Netley, or de loco S Edwardi]	Laycock Abb
Sci Dionish [Dennis]	Farley Por
Quarr [Quarrer, Isle of Wight]	Marleborough sce Margaret
DEVON	Eston Hospitlis sci Johis pre Sar [near Salisbury]
Sci Virgi Exon	Ederosh
Hosp Sci Johis Exon	Maudenbradley
Polleslo	

Name of County.

GLOUC

Flaxley Mon
Sci Oswald
Hosp sce Barthe
Cinenington hosp [? Cirencester]
Lanthon
Stanley sci leond

SOMSH

Worspring
Templecombe
Athelney
Bridgwater
Canington
Buckeland
Cleve Mon
Barleche
Dunster

DORSH

Bindon Mon
Tarraunt [Tarrent]

LEIC

Kirbie bellers
Clueston M [? Owston]
Garradon
Ulnecroft pr
Gracedewe M
Langley M
Bridon

BEDFORD

Caldwell P
Chickesand P
Bosc

BUCK

Ankeswik P
Bittelsden M
Lavenden M

Name of County.

Marlowe M
Medmenham M

OXON

Burcestr p
Godstowe M
Proxston P [? Wroxton]
Brewern M

SUFF

Eye Mon
Bydlingfeld M
Ypworthe P
Sce Olave de Heringflet
Champsey
Woodbridge
Lethringham
Bungey M
Leyston M
Wayfeld P [? Wingfield]
Blibourghe P
Brusyard p
Fliton M
Sce Trin in Ippefrug [? Holy Trinity Monastery]

NORFF

Waybreche P
Langley M
Caro M [Kalro]
Thetford
Bokenham P
Wymendham
Wendlinge
Sci Bnedic de hulmo
Broncholme [Bakeston]
Hickelinge P
Ingham P
Reyston
Wayborne

Name of County.

Horsham sci fridifrunde
Cockesforthe
Shuldham P
Marham
Marmond [Cambridgeshire]
Pitney [? Pentney]
Warengey
Blackeboroughe
Crabhouse
Flicham

CAMBRIDG

Chatteres M
Sce Clere de Deu M

HUNT

Bte Marie in hunt
Laiton M [? Lacton, or Latton, in Essex]
Stonley

NORTHAMPTON

Fysshehed [Finneshed] M
Catesbie P

RUTLAND

Por bte Marie de Brok

LINCOLN

Prior Sce Kath jux Lincoln
Tupholme M
Stickeholde
Markbie
Hagnebie Abb
Legborne
Grenefeld
Loughpte M [? Louthpark]
Alvingham
Novormesbye M [? Newsham]
Newsted

Name of County.

Elsam prior [Ailesham]
Newson Mon [? Neus, or Newhouse, or Newsome]
Nunnicolton por Monal [nun Coton]
Erfoed M [Irford or Urford]
Stansfeld M
Sixhall [Sixhill]
Bollington
Swyneshed M
Valedei mon bte Marie [Vaudrey]
Mon fror applr Petri et Pauli [? Grey Friars, Lincoln]
Mon bte Marie Virgin Newsted
Mon bte Marie de Mibo
Kyme M
Haverholme M
Cateley M
Moulton pke M
Barkinge M
Tyrkescy P [Torkesey]
Fosse P
Heringe [Heyninges] P
Willington P [? Wellow]
Thornehome P
Groxwell
Sci Mich juxt Stamford
Cella sci leond jux Stamford

WYGORN

Hospitam sci Wolstan
Hosp sci Oswold
Wheston hosp
Avecote M in com Warw
Prior minor in Malverine
Cockehill
Westwood

Name of County.

KANC

Hospit sc Lawrene jux Cantuar
Por sci Gregor extra Mur cit Cantuar
Prior sci Sepulcri
Hospitall sci Johis Northgate
Hospitall sci Virgi de Harlbeldoune
Hospitall sci Thome de Estbruge
Hospitall sci Jacobi extra Mur civitat Cantuar
Mon de Langdon
Priorat de Bilsington
Priorat de Fulkestone
Prior Dover
Hospitall decano de Dover
Hospitall sci Radigundie
Mon de Cunibswold
Prior de Swingfeilde
Mon sci Sexburg de Shepey

LONDON

Elsange spitle
Dom frm August
Dom frm Minor
Dom Carmilit
Dom frm Crucefer
Dom frm predic

MIDS

Prior Mon sci leond de Stratford
Domus frm Captivor in Hunslowe
Prior Mon de Kilborne

ESSEX

Hatfeld por
Colleg de Pleysey

Name of County.

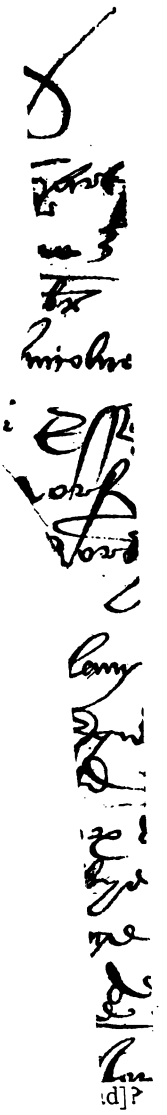
Mon de Titley [Tiltey]
Prior de Domin [? Earle's Colne]
Trenhall P
Bierden P
Nepō hospt [? Newport]
Hedmyham P
Prior sci Botolphi jux Colchest^{r}
Prior de Colney [Colum]
Lyle M
Dom frm Carmel de Malven
Pritwell P
Leighe P
Dom predic de Chelmesford

HARTFORD

Prior de Hartf
Colleg Monast sci Albani
Micketon Pembr [Munketon]
Beldenerowe Lincolne
Hatfeld Pewivi [Peverell] Essex
Bingham Norf
Tynmouthe Northbr
Sopwell P
Por frm pdic de Langley
Prior Mon sci Egid in Bosconsey fleinsted [Flamsted, or Beach wood]
Prior Canonicor de Jucombye
Prior de novo Bigginge
Prior frm Carmell de Hitching
Prio Canor de Roiston
Chesthunt

SURR

Colleg de Lingfeld
Paterley Mon
Rigate P
Tanruge P



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Name of County.

SUSSEX

Tortington Mon
Durford Mon
Eysborne P
Michelham P
Hastinge

EBOR

Mon sci Trint Ebor
Prior sce Andree appli juxta Ebor
Prior Mon sci Clement juxta Ebor
Prior Mon de Appleton
Prior de Helanghe
Prior Mon de Sinnythwayte
Cella sci Trint in Whetherall in Com Cumber
Cella bte Mar Magdalena juxta Lincoln
Cella sci Martini juxta Richmond
Cella sci bege in Com Cumber
Priorat de Brak [? Bredeford]
Prior Mon de Arthington
Prior Mon de Essoth
Capell bte Mar c Sctor Angelor ppe Bicland Metropol voc S Sepulcres Chapell
Hospital sci Michi extra Winyatt Lawn Ebor
Mon de Rupe
Prior Mon de Hampall
Cella de Hamburghe
Prior Mon de Kirleyes
Precept de Newlande
Hospital sci Jacobi juxta Northaltherton
Prior Mon de Arden

Name of County.

Prior de Growmounte
Prior Mon de Hasedall
Prior Mon de Hampesdall sive Grindesdale
Prior de Marten
Prior Mon de Thuckhedd
Prior Mon de Molesby
Hospitall sci Sepulcri juxta Haydon
Officin uri totius ordinis sci Gilbti de Sempringham
Mon Carthus juxta Hull
Prior de Waurter
Prior de Hartemprior
Ellerton Prior
Mimborne pr
Theraby pr
Ecclie Colleg sci Johis Beverley
Mon bte Marie old Norton
Prior de Eydingham
Prior de Bosdaye
Mon de Wyckhm̄
Prior de Keldone

NOTTINGHAM

Prior de Novo loco [Newark]
Prior de felley
Prior de Bellevale
Prior de Shelforde
Ricford [Rufford] Mon
Prior de Blethe [Blyth]
Prior de Matresey
Prior de Wallingwelle

ARCHIDEAN RICHMOND

Abbathie de Agathie
Abb de Egliston
Prior Mon de Maryck
Abb de Conhin^{id} [Conishead]?

Name of County.

Prior Mon de Ellerton
Hospitall de Wellis
Hospitall bte Marie juxta Ripon
Domus sci Robti juxta Knaresborowe
Prior Mon de Nonmungton
Comander de ribston als releston
Abb de Cockersand
Abb de Cauder
Prior Mon de Seton
Prior de Cuninghedd
Prior de Cartmell

CUMBR

Priorat bete Marie Magdalene de bavercolt

WESTMLAND

Abbathea de Shappe

EPATUS DINOLINENSHE [DUNELMENSIS]

Cella de Finchell
Cella de Jarrowe
Cella de Warmouthe
Cella in Insula Sayera in Northumbr
Cella de Farnendham Northbr [Fern Island]
Cella de Lenthin Lancastr
Cella de Stanforde Lyncolne
Cella de dinolineneh[e] Oxon
Hospitall dni Egidii de Kepherey
Hospitall de Sherborne
Hospitall de Grethm [Gretham]
Hospitall sci Johis infra Castr Barnardi

Name of County.

Hospitall sci Edi [Edwardi] Epi in Gateshed
Prior Mon de Nessam [? Lethum, or Lythom, Lancashire]
Prior Mon vel Novi Castr Hospitall bte Marie Magdalene in Sulberb vell Nove Castr
Hospitall bte Marie Magdalene in Sulberb vell Nove Castr
Hospitall sce Marie Virginis in Westgate infra vil Nove Castre
Prior de Hexhm in Com Northumbr
Abb de Allwycke
Prior Mon de herstone [Halystane]
Prior Mon de Brokenborne [Brinkburne]

LANCASTR

Pr de Pennworthm ib

COM CESTE

Pr bte Marie Mon Civitat ce cest[e]
Mon bte Marie de Norton
Pr de Birkhed
Holland prior

STAFFORD

Pr Mon de Berewood
Mon bte Marie de Holton
Pr de Trenthm ib
Pr sci Thome juxta Stacton [Stafford]
Pr de Stane
Pr de Royton [Raunton]

Name of County.

Mon de Rosseter
Mon de Croxden
Mon de Mavall [? Mavesyn Ridware]

DARBY nill

SALOPP

Mon Salopp
Mon de Bildwas
Abb Mon de Brewod
Prior de Wenbrige

HEREFF

Monmouthe Mon
Fenesford [? Flansford]
Acorneburne [Cornbury, or Acornbury]
Prior sci Euthlacie Hereff
Wormesley Prior
Clyfford Prior
Prior Mon de Linnbrok

MENEVENSH [ST. DAVID'S]

Prior de Haverford
Prior de Pulla
Prior de Curdway [? Cadwell]
Prior de Strat florida
Mon sci Dogmaolis
Prior sci Johis Evangelist Brecon

Name of County.

Mon de Comeheiri
Mon de Alba launda
Mon de Talle

LAMDAVON [LANDAFF]

Mon bte Marie de Nethe
Mon bte Marie de Morgan
Prior de Evennye
Prior de Abgaveny
Prior de Uske
Mon de Lanterna
Mon sce [Marie] de Tinterne
Prior de Chipstover
Prior sci Kynnersye
Mon de Bassework
Mon de Conwaye
Mon de Vale Crucis
Mon de grat Morvelley
Dom Monalau de Lanlugan

BANGOR

Mon bte Marie de Bordesley
Eccla Cath de Ruthin
Mon bte Marie Virg de Kymmer
Ecclia Coll de Castro Crubre [? Holyhead, or Caerguby]
Prior sci Sinolisals Pnman
Mon de Kethkellynot [? Bethgelert]

Since page 84 was printed further confirmation of family identity has been found in the Bishop's Register at Chester, as follows:—

"On the 2^{d} January 1534-5 the next presentation to the Rectory of Wyrkyngton (Workington in Cumberland) was granted to Thomas Leighe D.L. and William his brother (Majrō Thome Leighe legū doctori et Willō Leighe frī suo) by the Abbot and Convent of Saint Mary of York."

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

BY GEORGE ESDAILE.

OF positive evidence there is but little; but in a negative form there is ample to prove the fact that Christianity existed at the period named. The bulk of that which I shall advance is the outcome mainly of the thought and labour of men of that legion most familiar to us—the XX. Leg.—men who lived in both Chester and Manchester during the quiet and unquiet times of the Roman occupancy; but who along with those from other legions filled the camps "on the Borders," and who later, whilst the "Wall" was building, continued such guard, and then did garrison duty when that rampart was put up.

This twentieth legion was possibly raised in Spain, was certainly in existence B.C. 44, and, in all probability, served in Cilicia with Pompey, 66 B.C.; and, I believe, that it absorbed many of the twenty thousand prisoners taken at Comagena and Samosata (see paper on Leg. XX., *Soms. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, 1886).

XX. Leg. was also in Britain A.U.C. 758, *i.e.*, A.D. 5, as we learn from Dion (LV., pp. 563-5). II. Leg. was also here at the same time, as also part of the VI. Leg.; and this is not a simple statement, but is supported by the locale of the legions mentioned (Dion LV., 153).

Let me here say that this entry carries back the Roman occupation of Britain THIRTY-NINE years further than has hitherto been surmised, and it also supports and is supported by the statement in the address of Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian, that Caledonia was subject to Roman power when the familiar expedition against Caledonia had not then taken place (see also Horace, 88, 3; 134, 2; 260, 12; 267, 2; 419, 4; 456, 5).

Whether the ordinary commander in Britain was Consul, or had any other name, matters not to the subject before us; but in the reign of Diocletian, Constantius as Cæsar had the command in Spain and Britain, which two countries embrace the area over which I would range: in the former, because of the inscriptions bearing on the subject; and in the latter, as the matter is found there which is most germane to the paper.

In speaking of the time of the tenth and last persecution, I would emphasise, that as successive waves of Christianity passed over the then known world, their progress was impeded by nine preceding persecutions, each authorised by Imperial decree and executed with fanatical vigour. One of the earliest inscriptions respecting these is given in Gruter ($\frac{288}{9}$), and is to the effect that Nero had purged the province of robbers and of those who had inculcated a new superstition.

I will give an example of these decrees from which it will be seen that nothing but the adoption of Christianity by the Emperor could stop the persecutions, and that on such adoption they ceased as a matter of course.

We learn from Lactantius (who was a writer coeval with the events he records), M., p. 11, that before Diocletian published his edicts as to the persecution, he consulted the oracle of Apollo at Miletus, and we also read that it was Galerius who proposed that every one refusing to offer

sacrifice should immediately be burnt (*Lact.* 10–11), and that the churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations (*Ib.* 12 and 13). Gibbon, quoting Eusebius (ix. 2) and Lactantius (M., p. 36), states that dutiful addresses were sent by the influence of the magistrates and of the priests, expressing their horror of the Christians, and humbly praying that these impious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories; the answer that the Emperor Maximian returned to that received from Tyre, which is still extant, was that his edicts were engraved on tables of brass. Although the following is some twenty or thirty years before the commencement of the Diocletian persecution, yet, from it we gain a further insight into the procedure:— About A.D. 255–283 the following was promulgated: "Decius and Valerian, Emperors, Triumphers, Conquerors, August, Pious, together with the whole Senate, have by common consent decreed thus: Whereas, we have received the gifts and blessings of the gods, by whom we enjoy victory over our enemies, as also temperate seasons and fruits in great plenty and abundance; since we have found them our great benefactors, and that they have supplied us with those things that are universally beneficial to all, we therefore unanimously decree that all orders of men, as well children, as servants, soldiers, as private persons, shall offer sacrifice to the gods, doing reverence and supplication to them, and if any shall dare to violate our divine order thus unanimously agreed upon, we command that he be cast into prison, and afterwards exposed to several kinds of torments; if by this means he be reclaimed, he may expect no mean honors from us; but if he persist contumacious, after many tortures, let him be beheaded, or thrown into the sea, or cast out to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But especially if there be any found of the religion of the

Christians. As for those that obey our decrees they shall receive great honors and rewards from us. So happily fare ye well."

A further decree by Valerian, much to the same import as the last, should be of great interest to us as Britons of the province of Britannia: "Valerian the Emperor, to the Ministers and Governors of *Provinces.* We understand that the precepts of the laws are violated by those who in these days call themselves Christians. Wherefore, we will, thus apprehending them, unless they sacrifice to *our* gods, you expose them to divers kinds of punishments; that so, both justice may have place without delay, and vengeance, in cutting off impieties, having attained its end, may proceed no further." Such having been the practice of a time immediately before that of Diocletian, we may accept the admittedly correct historical statement respecting the tenth persecution, supported by the evidence of these inscribed stones, which unanimously agree in the statement that Diocletian and his colleague on the joint Imperial throne had everywhere extinguished the superstition of Christ, and had restored the "cult" of the gods. Although called the Diocletian persecution, probably from the fact of Diocletian having been sole Emperor for about two years, I think that we should award a fair share of responsibility and blame to his colleague Maximianus, who was not only a bad man, but also a persecutor of Christians when acting alone. One instance will serve.

Maximian having been sent into *Gaul* to suppress a mutiny, had his army strengthened by the addition of the Theban Legion. On his arrival at Octodurum he assembled his troops for a great function, and commanded that they should all sacrifice to the gods, and persecute the Christians as enemies to the gods; to this the Theban Legion demurred, and withdrew to a point eight miles distant,

declining as Christians to defile themselves at the altars of devils, but determined to continue to believe what they had heard in the East to their latest hour; that as a Legion they were ready for any warlike service, but to kill Christians or return to sacrifice they would not. The reply of Maximian was to this effect: Do my soldiers think thus to slight my royal orders and the holy rites of my religion? Had they only despised the Imperial Majesty it would have called for public vengeance, but together with contempt of me, an affront is offered to Heaven; and the religion of the Romans is as much despised as I am. Let the obstinate soldiers know that I am not only able to vindicate myself, but to avenge the quarrel of my gods. Let my faithful servants make haste and despatch every tenth man according as the fatal lot shall fall upon him; by this equal death let those whose lot it shall be to die first know how able Maximian is severely to revenge both himself and his gods.

The legion was thereupon decimated, those who remained returned this answer, "We acknowledge, Cæsar, that we are your soldiers, and took up arms for the defence of the Empire, nor did we ever basely betray our trust, nor forsake our station, nor deserved that the brand, either of fear or cowardice should be set upon us, nor should we stick now to obey your commands did not the laws of Christianity, wherein we have been instructed, forbid us to worship devils and to approach the polluted altars of the gods. We understand that you are resolved either to defile us with sacrilegious worship, or to terrify us with a decimation. Spare any further search concerning us, know that we are all Christians; our bodies we yield subject to your power, but our souls we reserve entire for Christ, the Author and the Saviour of them."

Upon this a second decimation was made, and the remaining troops ordered to march to Octodurum to worship

the gods; they refused to go, and sent a message that "your officer will find our right hands naked, but our breast armed with the true faith."

Maximianus thereupon commanded the whole of his army to fall upon them, and so the whole legion was cut off to a man (Eucharius Lugdunensis. Martyr. Theb. Leg.).

After this, our wonder cannot be excited at the setting up of such slabs as these before us, to the restoration of the cult of the gods, for we feel that the Emperor did believe that he had deleted the new cult, by cutting off its practisers in Gaul, in which ecclesiastical division Spain and Britain were included. For if the persecution in any prætoriate can be assumed to have been approximate over its area, then we may take these slabs as evidence of such persecution in such prætoriate; and as Hispania, with its seven bishops, Gallia with its seventeen, and Britannia with its five bishops, were half of the Western Empire, sub prefecto prætorio Galliarum erant etiam diœceses tres, it will be seen that the assumption is founded on fact. Finding that there is direct evidence of the existence of Christianity in Spain and Gaul, with the former of which Britain was at one time joined in civil or military government, as well as in some way with both ecclesiastically, and with the evidence before us of a legion obliterated at the will of the heathen associate of Diocletian by the rest of his army, I am led to assume that the whole of the altars were set up by heathen soldiers rejoicing in the return to the old religion, the worship of the gods.

In this range of thirty altars we have not only ascriptions to an "Old God," "To the Holy Old God," but to "Old Gods" generally; to the old (or former, meaning old) goddesses and nymphs; to the old goddesses; then specifically to the old god Moguntus, which, singular to say, is the only one in which the god is named (was he of Moguntiacum, the modern Mêntz?), there is only one in

which the goddess or rather goddesses are mentioned "To the old Mother Fates." These demonstrate that there was an evident and deliberate attempt to renew an old worship which had temporarily been displaced by one which had pervaded all ranks, and this I consider must have been Christianity as introduced through Gaul. One reason occurs to me why these old gods would be the more easily renewed, lay in the fact of the Eastern origin of some of the men composing, say the twentieth legion, imbued with their early Eastern heathen religious training.

As we have two altars (459 and 512 Hüb. *Brit.*) bearing ascriptions to the old god or gods, also in Hüb. 761, "To the old God," we see an altar of form identical with two in Phœnicia and in Kouyondjik, figured by Perrot and Chipiez (i. 136), in which we have the tops of these altars ornamented with the stepped or battlemented patterns peculiar to Phœnician and Chaldean architecture as given by the authors just named. Again, in Hübner 454, to the old goddess, and in Hüb. 511, to the holy old god, we have the Egyptian catena, copied from Chaldea, forming part of the cornice of each altar; we know that men from Samosata and Comagena were in the twentieth legion, and we also know how they came to be incorporated with that body.

There can, I think, be little question as to the meaning of the word Vetus, in any of its cases, compounds or derivatives; it is old, former, preceding, which is the meaning of the word in "Cæsar." Take any of these old gods, the former gods, the preceding gods, and each and all mean gods previous to the last known or mentioned, as the last mentioned must clearly and of necessity be the God of the Christian. At the end of this paper I give a list in detail of these illustrations.

These altars all stand as good negative evidence in favour of the argument that the previous dominance of the "Old

Gods" had been superseded by Christianity, and that on the deleting of the latter, the worship of the former was resumed; but when we have the light of the Bath altar (Hüb. 45) upon the subject, we find an altar which commemorates the re-edification of some place of pagan worship which had fallen into decay which Caius Severius restored. The Rev. John Warner considered, and his opinion has not been questioned, that this altar was set up in the fourth century, therefore in the first thirteen years of that century, as in 313, the Diocletian persecution came to an end, the reign of Constantine inaugurating a full development of Christianity. Consequently, this cippus must be of the date of the tenth persecution, and be one of the last erected. Whilst the re-advent of Christianity would be commemorated by the stone set up to the piety of Augustus, showing the zeal of a newly converted or re-converted heathen, in so erecting a memorial in the form well known to him as a pagan.

In the split altar before us (Hüb. *Brit.* 609, Risingham)—which, when first discovered, was in use as a gatepost—I consider that either we have a stone of altar form erected by a Christianised pagan when ecclesiastical styles were not to the front, or, which is more likely, that a disused altar has been utilised as a funereal monument, possibly to a martyr, as may be judged from the remains of words in the three last lines, from which it might be taken that Flaminius "pro funere," "lucem voluit," reddere vitae."

I know of some inscriptions in Hübner, *Hispania*, notably Nos. 2,128 and 3,659; but I do not remark on them further than to say that they support the view I take—that the setting-up of altars and stones to the old or former gods was universal, followed by a destruction of all of them, except those above named, and of course any others that have escaped and which may be discovered hereafter. It is also noteworthy that many of those I have cited are but frag-

ments, plainly showing that they, too, have been *intentionally* broken, presumably on the reintroduction of the *superstition of Christ*, and the consequent deleting of the cult of the gods. The slabs themselves, erected by the heathen emperors to commemorate the temporary suppression of the Christian religion, would in their turn be done away with as far as possible, which will account for only two examples remaining as evidence of their having ever existed, and these two are also from Spain.

Whether the destruction of these altars and stones took place (313 A.D.) immediately on restoration of the Christian religion or not, we know that the second Council of Arles (Conc. Arelat. 2, C. 23) issued a canon against those bishops "who suffer any trees or stones to remain in their dioceses as objects of worship;" and such idolatry must have been general, as the substance of this canon was reiterated continually (Conc. Bracar. 3, C. 22; Ann. Eccles. Franc. A.D. 566, n. 51; Concil. Nannet. A.D. 656, C. 20; Ann. Eccl. Franc. A.D. 659, n. 36) "casting away the stones, and that all people be told what a dreadful sin idolatry is, and that he who worships trees and stones denies God and renounces his Christianity." The following, of date 659 A.D., shows that the rites of the heathen worship were difficult to uproot: Nullus Christianus ad fana, vel ad *Petras*, vel ad fontes, vel ad arbores, aut ad cellos, vel per trivia, luminaria faciat, aut vota reddere præsumat.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Gruter, $\frac{238}{9}$; Bath Altar, Hüb. *Brit.*, 45; To the Old God Mogunt, Hüb. *Brit.*, 958; To the Old Mother Fates, Hüb., 418; To the Holy Old God, Hüb., 511, 760, 960; To the Old God, Hüb., 442, 444, 459, 472, 619, 727, 761, 762, 763, 764, 766, Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, 668; To the Old Goddess, Hüb. *Brit.*, 454; To the Old Gods, Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, 109, 279, 311, 314, Hüb., 502*b*, 512, 728, 729, 768; To the Living Old God, Bruce, 110; To the Old Nymphs, Hüb., 502*a*; To the Old Goddesses and Nymphs, Bruce, 307; Matrib, Gruter, 887*b*; The Split Altar, Hüb., 609; To the Piety of Augustus, Bruce, 815.

THE DI VETERES.

BY HENRY COLLEY MARCH, M.D.

IN a highly interesting communication, Mr. Esdaile has recently brought to the notice of this Society a number of Britanno-Roman altars inscribed to the "old Gods." He considers that they were erected shortly after the publication of the decree of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 303, against the Christian Faith, and that they are evidence, therefore, though of a negative kind, in favour of the view that Christianity had previously existed in Cumberland and Northumberland. But if this were so, Christianity had done nothing to remove the many symbols of paganism that remain to this day on every portion of the Wall of Hadrian, had placed there none of its own, and had left undisturbed a multitude of magnificent altars to Mars, to Hercules, to Apollo, and to Jupiter greatest and best. So that the last thing that Roman soldiers would have found it needful to do, on hearing of Diocletian's Edict, in that distant part of the empire, surrounded as they were by inscriptions to the deities of Italy, and by the emblems of Mithraic worship, would have been to raise a number of stones to the "di veteres," if the old gods addressed were Mars or Mithras or Jupiter. The subject, however, is one of

great antiquarian importance, and our attention may be usefully directed to the facts by which it is surrounded.

1. As far as this country is concerned, the altars in question are confined to the neighbourhood of Hadrian's Wall. There are no inscriptions to the "old gods" in any other part of England. Indeed, they are not to be found in any other part of the world; and this fact alone should be proof enough that they were not set up as a response to a general Imperial edict. Hübner has not yet published that portion of his Corpus which relates to Germania, but I have searched all the volumes that contain Latin inscriptions found in Rome, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Calabria, Africa, and other countries, and have not met with a single altar "dibus veteribus."

Two apparent exceptions occur in Spain. One, No. 3,659, is NONI. VET/REGINAE, which Hübner thinks is addressed to Juno, while he suggests that VET is really MAT, so that the inscription should read—*To Juno, mother and queen.*

The other, No. 2,128, occurs on a pedestal, and is ARA. M. VETERIBVS, *an altar to the ancient mother-(goddesses).**

2. The second fact to be noticed is that the altars in question are mostly very small. They are thirty in number. In eleven instances the size is not given. In ten, the measurements in inches are as follows, beginning with the largest, an altar to a god specially named: 24×13, 14×9, 12×6, 12×6, 11¼×5½, 11×7, 10×7, 9½×6, 9×5, and 5½×5. In the remaining nine cases, the altars are described as "parvæ." Altars of this kind are not likely to have been erected in compliance with any official requirement.

3. The third point is that the letters, for the most part, are rudely cut; Dr. Bruce calls them not only small, but "ill-carved."

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* *Vide Yorks. Cat.* p. 28. MATRIBVS/M.NAN TONIVS/ORBIOTAL/V.S.L.M.

4. While fourthly, of the thirty altars, the letters on twenty-six or twenty-seven are entirely non-ligulate. It is well known that the ligulation of letters was less frequently practised by early sculptors. All these facts suggest very strongly that the inscriptions belong to the first years of Hadrian's Wall.

5. The fifth matter of observation is that the writings are illiterate. The spelling is often incorrect. This is notably the case with the word *vetus*, old. The term means "ancient of days." Just as the adjective *robustus*, oaken, is formed from *robur;* or *venustus*, comely, from Venus; or *onustus*, laden, from *onus;* so the adjective *vetustus*, old, was formed from a word *vetus*, which, like the Greek ϕετος, and the Sanscrit *vatsas*, signified "a year." Undoubtedly the first vowel was properly an "e." It is thus spelt on a large slab, 49×40, at Great Chesters, of the date A.D. 225, in a ligulate inscription, which contains the words HORREVM VETVSTATE CONLABSVM. This granary, that had collapsed through age, in about one hundred years, was rebuilt by the second cohort of the Astures.

But of the thirty altars in question, in exactly half the number the first vowel in *vetus* is an "i."

The second vowel is of less importance, as it does not form a part of the root. But in both *veteri* and *veteribus* it ought to be an "e." On some of the altars only the first syllable of the word appears; on others the second vowel is omitted; but in eleven instances we find an "i" instead of an "e" for the second vowel. Again, the dative singular should be *veteri*, but in one case it is written *vitire*, with all the vowels wrong. Lastly, on four altars we find the somewhat unusual adjective *veterinus*, of which the dative singular should be *veterino*. But in two of them the word is *veterine*, in one *vitirine*, and in the other *viterino*. It is wrongly spelt in every instance.

6. The sixth observation is that the dative plural of *deus* is not found in its classical form of *diis* or *dîs*. When a few members of this Society went last year to the Newcastle Museum, we saw an altar inscribed DEABS/VITBVS, which Dr. Bruce was understood to say meant *deobus veteribus;* and in the Museum catalogue, published under his control by the local Society of Antiquaries, the words are translated "To the ancient gods." This is clearly an error. It should be "to the ancient goddesses." "Deobus," which would be an illiterate form, is nowhere to be found.

The dative *dibus*, however, occurs on the altars in question four times, or *in every instance* in which that plural case is used. And it will probably be admitted that *dibus* is not so much a classical as an archaic form.

7. The inscriptions in question may be further classified. Eighteen are to a single unnamed god. Five are to a single god addressed *sanctus* or consecrated, as well as *vetus*, or ancient. Two are to the *Numina*, or divinities, a word that includes both male and female gods. One to the *Deæ*, or goddesses, and one to the *Deæ et Nymphæ*, or the goddesses and nymphs. The plural adjective occurs in the dative, *veteribus*, without a noun, twice; the dative singular without a noun, twice; and the plural *veteres*, as the only word on the altar, occurs once, and is possibly a contraction of *veteribus*.

8. Lastly, the largest stone, 24 × 13, from which the letters are partly vanished (Hübner, No. 958) has an inscription to the holy and ancient god Mogont, *Deo Mogonti Vitire sancto, Ælius Secundus*, V.S.L.M., as Hübner has expanded it.

It will have been noticed that there is no altar, like the single Spanish one, to the ancient mothers, *Matribus veteribus*.

Can it be any longer thought that such inscriptions as these were carved in consequence of an Imperial decree in the year of our Lord 303?

We may now ask to what gods and by what people these altars were raised. We have seen that they occur only in this country, and only in the vicinity of the Wall.

The *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, written about A.D. 400, contains a list of the stations and garrisons on Hadrian's Wall, and the local inscriptions speak for themselves. It is certain that portions of the II. Legion, of the VI., and of the XX. were there, and the various nationalities of which they were composed have left their traces in stone.

It is pretty certain that there were no British cohorts there. It was contrary to the Roman polity to employ them in their own country. They were sent elsewhere, as in A.D. 69, when eight thousand Britons were enrolled in the army of Vitellius, and engaged in Continental wars.

The following inscriptions, however, require explanation; Hübner's No. 177, from Matlock, ''''/GELLI/PRAE C'''' III/IV BRIT'''/ is given *De præfecto quodam "cohortis* IV. *Brittonum";* No. 1,231, from Yorkshire, COH IIII BRE, "*cohortis* IV. *Brittonum";* and No. 1,230, from the neighbourhood of Manchester, C III BR, "*cohortis* III. *Brittonum.*" Now according to Pliny, there were "Britanni" who lived near the Rhine and the North Sea, and the best authorities, including Hübner and Bruce, agree that the cohorts called "Brittones" in the Roman army in this country were natives of Gaul. Thus may be explained the occurrence of a tile, found near Rochester, stamped COH VIII BRIT. But the Ebchester inscriptions, COH IIII BR, and HIBR COH I BR, are doubtful, since the Bructeri might be meant, or the Brutii.

Having discarded the native British as possible authors of the inscriptions we are discussing, we may ask if they are the work of the various cohorts that garrisoned the Wall generally, and if they expressed a sort of common formula. But if this were so, they would not be confined to Britain

or to the Vallum; they would not be so invariably small, ill-cut, and illiterate.

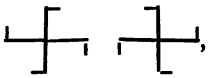
It is necessary, then, to ascertain at what stations they occur, and with what nationalities, gods, or cults they are associated.

Beginning on Watling Street, south of the Wall, we find that at Binchester nearly every altar is dedicated to the Deæ Matres, goddesses beloved by the Germanic race.

At Lanchester two of the strange altars were found, and here was the first cohort of the Lingones, "the fiercest of the Gauls." At Ebchester was another of the altars, and here are traces of the first and fourth cohorts of the Brittones, a Gaulish people. At Corbridge was another, where we find traces of the sixth legion, *victrix, pia, fidelis*, and of the third cohort of the second legion, with its ensign of the crescent, seagoat, and pegasus; and a Greek inscription to Ἀστάρτης.

The street crosses the Wall at Hunnum, where Hadrian held his court with a portion of the second legion, the Savinian Ala, named after his wife. Here was a slab, in letters of the second century, resembling those of many of our strange altars, FVLGVR DIVOM, to mark the spot where a thunderbolt struck the earth.

Still following Watling Street, at a distance of fifteen miles north of the Wall, we came to Habitancum, or Risingham, where, on an altar to Mogont, is an inscription which, from a highly abbreviated and ligulate form, has been thus expanded: (Deo) Mogonti Cad(eno) et n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Au(gusti) M. G(avius) Secundinus b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) Habitanci prima sta(tione) pro se et suis pos(uit). Here were the first cohort of the Vangiones, who raised two splendid slabs to Severus, 71 × 43 and 111 × 33 inches; and the fourth cohort of the Gauls. The next station, seven miles farther on, is inte-

resting as being the site of two altars with a fylfot symbol  , raised by the Varduli of Spain. Here, too, was the first cohort of the Lingones.

Beginning now at Newcastle, where are inscriptions left by the first cohort of the Thraces, a Teutonic people,* we find two altars differing from all the thirty others in being addressed not to gods but to divinities, N(VMINIBVS) VETERIBVS. At Wallsend, on the east, was the fourth cohort of the Lingones; and at Chester-le-Street on the south, was an altar DEABS/VITBVS/ "to the ancient goddesses."

Passing westward along the Wall we come to Condercum, where there were two altars, one, DEO/VETRI/SANCTO/, and the other VIT/IRB/ figure of an animal /VS. Of this animal we shall speak again. Here was the first Ala of the Astures, and a large slab, 32 × 24, inscribed MATR(IBVS) TRIBVS CAMPES(TRIBVS) ET GENIO ALAE PRI(MAE) HISPANORVM ASTVRVM. Here, too, was an altar to Antinociticus, and another to Anociticus of a date between A.D. 161 and 169.

At Rutchester, the next station, the Frisii (first coh.) of East Germany were placed, and the Brittones (seventh coh.) of Gaul; while at Hunnum, the next station again, where Watling Street is crossed, the Frisii were also encamped.

Beyond this we come to Chesters, where were two of the strange altars, one DEO SANC/TO VITIR/ TERTVLVS/VSLM/, which contains a slight ligulation, and the other DIBVS/ VETERI/BVS. Here were stationed the second Ala of the Astures and the first cohort of the Vangiones. Here was a stone inscribed to Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 221; and here a large statue of Cybele, Bona Mater, and an altar dedicated "Matribus Comedovis," similar to two others that have been found in Gaul.

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* V. Fressl's *Skytho-Sakians*.

The station next in order is Procolitia, and here was one of the strange altars, DEO VE/TERI VO/TVM VC/CVSVL, together with a stone inscribed by the first cohort of the Batavi, who garrisoned the fort.

Next comes the important station Borcovicus, assigned by the Notitia to the Tungri. Here have been found a Mithraic Cave, and several altars to Mithras, on one of which the inscription had been cut after the letters D. O. M. had been erased, showing a previous dedication to Jupiter. There were altars to Cocidius, to "Gods and Goddesses," to the Deæ Matres, but none has been discovered here to an "Ancient God," although this would have been an excellent place to set up a response to an Imperial decree. The size of some of the altars may be mentioned, for the sake of comparison—to Mars, 50 × 20; to Hercules, 43 × 20; to Mithras, 44 × 16 and 55 × 21; and to Jupiter, 46 × 13, 45 × 22, and 46 × 22.

A curious dedication, as coming from a Tungrian cohort, was found here: "Diis Deabusque se/cundum interpre/tationem oracu/li clari Apollinis / cohors prima Tungrorum," on an altar 43 × 31 inches. An inscription almost exactly like this was found in Numidia. It runs: "Dis Deabusq / secundum / interpreta / tionem ora/culi cla/ri Apollin." (Hübner's *Africa*, No. 8,351.)

And now, at three stations running, were found these strange altars. At Vindolana, where the fourth cohort of Gauls kept guard with the second and third cohorts of Nervii, there were three; VETERI/TIN/S, which has a single ligulation, VITRI/VOTVM/SLM, and VETERI/BVS POS/SENACV/LVS. At Æsica, where were quartered the first and second cohorts of the Astures, the first of the Ræti, and the sixth of the Nervii, were found three of these altars: DEO/VETI/RI · V: DIB/ VETERI/BVS POS/VIT ROMA/NA: and DIBVS VE/TERIBUS. While at Magnæ, or Carvoran, there were ten:

DEABVS NYM/PHIS VET·/ MANSVETAI/CLAVDIA · TVR/ NILLA · FIL · V · S · L.

DEO · SANCT/ VETERI ·/IVL · PASTOR/IMAG CoH II/DELMAT VSLM.

DEO VE/TERINE/ CAIAM/ES · V · S · L.

DEO VETE/RI NEC/ALA · MIL/V · S · L · M.

DEO/VITI/RINE/LIMEO/ROV/P · L · M.

DEO/VITIRI/MENI/DADA/ V · S · L · M.

DEO VITERI/ NLVS ET/AVRIDES/VSLM.

DEO VITE/RINO.

DIBVS/VITIRIBVS/DECCIVS/ V · S · L · M.

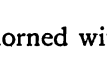
VETE/RES.

It is impossible to exaggerate the interest of this place. Of the many altars and inscriptions found here, not one can be positively assigned to the gods of Italy. The only doubtful ones are three: /AELS/AVREL/MARTI/—/DEO M I ""/ and /DO/ERCL/, which may be "Deo Herculi." The Notitia places at Magnæ the second cohort of the Dalmatæ, and a large funereal slab, 62 × 33, was found here dedicated by a soldier to the memory of his wife, a native of Salona in Dalmatia, whilst one of the strange altars was raised by Pastor Imaginifer of the Dalmatian cohort. The first cohort of the Batavi was also here. Here, also, were found two altars to the god Belatucadrus, on one of which, as elsewhere, he is called Mars. But the most remarkable thing in connection with Magnæ is that part of its garrison consisted of a semitic race from Syria, a body of bowmen from Hamath. One of their archers, weapon in hand, is sculptured at Borcovicus. The spelling on their altars is often bad, and sometimes unintelligible. We find among them DEE HA/MMI/SABI/F "to the goddess of the Hamii by Sabinus"; DEAE SVRI/AE "to the goddess of Syria by the first cohort"; to Jupiter Dolichenus; to Jupiter Heliopolitanus; and to DEAE/EPON/AE·P·SO, "to the goddess Epona."

Doliche was a town in Syria, and Heliopolis, not far off, was on the sources of the Orontes, while Epona may perhaps find her explanation in the neighbouring region of Apamene. But the Hamii, like other people from that part of the world, had poetical tastes, and with the help of their Roman officers, have left here a well-cut non-ligulate inscription in iambic verse, on a slab 40 by 26 inches, of which the following is a translation:

The Virgin in her celestial seat overhangs the Lion.
She is the bearer of the harvest, the deviser of justice, the foundress of cities.
It is by such blessings that we know the gods.
Wherefore the Syrian goddess is the mother of deity, peace, valour,
And plenty, weighing as in a balance life and law.
The constellation seen in the sky hath Syria sent forth
To Libya to be worshipped, whence we, all of us, have learnt of it.
Taught by thy spirit, thus hath Marcus Cœcilius Donatianus understood, a warfaring tribune
In the office of prefect by the bounty of the Emperor.

(*Vide Catal. Newc. Mus.*, p. 28.)

The interest of Amboglanna, the next station, which was garrisoned by the first cohort of the Daci, is confined to an altar inscribed D.O.M. and adorned with a fylfot  , and to one seated figure of the Deæ Matres. At this point the Maiden Way, which reaches the Wall at Magnæ, now runs north.

Two stations remain to be mentioned. Netherby, seven miles north of Carlisle, is the only place in which has been found the name of a god qualified by this epithet, "ancient." The inscription occurs on the largest altar of the series, 24 × 13 inches. The letters are in two instances ligulate, but the spelling is bad. It runs, DEO/MOGONTI/VITIRE/SRAV/Æ · SECVND/VSLM. The adjective sanctus, found in

other cases, does not occur in this; but it appears on an altar raised by a cohort of Germani, *prima Nervana*, DEO/SANCTO/COCIDIO. There is also an altar to the holy goddess Fortuna, erected by a Spanish troop, the first cohort of the Hispani, who have left here five inscriptions.

The last station to be mentioned is Old Penrith, about twelve miles south of the wall. It is of interest because it contained the third and only remaining instance of an altar to the god Mogunt. Besides this, there is an altar to Jupiter Dolichenus, and three to Belatucadrus, associated once with the epithet holy, and once with the name of Mars. A German cohort was quartered here.

Who, then, set up the thirty strange altars to the "Old Gods"? They occur at twelve stations, or, reckoning the two other altars to Mogont, there are thirty-two altars in fourteen stations.

If we adopt the method of exclusion, and set aside the British, the Daci, the Dalmatæ, and the Hamii; and if we group together, as we fairly may, the tribes about the Rhine—the Vangiones, the Tungri, the Batavi, the Frisii, the Nervii, the Morini, the Menapii, the Brittoni, and even the Gauls—then we shall have to decide between these on the one hand, and the Spanish cohorts on the other.

At first sight, the case is very strong in favour of the latter. The Astures appear at four stations, Condercum, Cilurnum, Æsica, and Uxelodunum; the Hispani at Netherby; and the Varduli at High Rochester; and of these six stations the strange altars have been found at four.

At Maryport, near Carlisle, fourteen stones have been met with that the Hispani inscribed.

In Spain itself occur* the doubtful instance of the term *vetus* applied to Juno; the words ARA M VETERIBVS; and, strange

*Nos. 3659, 2128, 3136.

to say, a name MOGONINON, something like Mogont, but Hübner says "It may be the name either of a woman or of a slave."

Moreover, on an altar from Condercum, as already noticed, between the letters indicating "*veteribus*" and those meaning "*votum solvit*," is the figure of an animal which Dr. Bruce says "is probably intended for a rabbit, the cognizance of Spain," and at Condercum the Astures were quartered.

But the Frisii were there also, and the Brittones; and the animal is not in the least like a rabbit, but resembles the wild boar, sacred in Northern mythology.

Mogont used to be called a British god together with Belatucadrus. But according to modern views this cannot be so, they must rank with the multitude of foreign divinities, *dei peregrini*, brought by their worshippers to this country. If the Spanish regiments were here in force, the Rhenish cohorts were here in swarms. Whole tribes of Germans were quartered round Carlisle. At Middleby, the Pagus Vellaus and the Pagus Condrustis, both forming part of the second cohort of the Tungri, have left inscriptions to their native goddesses Ricagambeda (Hübner, No. 1072) and Virudesthis (Hübner, No. 1,073). German soldiers were placed in high office, and Carausius, who made himself Emperor of Britain in A.D. 228, was a Menapian. The name of a god was often associated with that of some country or town. We are familiar with cases like Herculaneum, for example, and like Athens, Aphrodisias and Heliopolis, and I venture to suggest that Belatucadrus is a compound like Jupiter Dolichenus, and is formed from Bel, and Atuaca, anciently a large and famous town of the Tungri; and that Mogont is associated with Moguntiacum, a city of the Vangiones.

If this be admitted as probable, it will help us to the

origin of the strange altars. Inscriptions addressed to distant local deities have often been found in this country. One at York,—*Matribus Africanis, Italicis, Gallicis, M. Minucius Mudenus, Legionis Sextæ*—is sufficiently comprehensive (Hübner, No. 238).

At Newcastle we find *Deabus Matribus Tramarinis Patri(i)s Aurelius Juvenalis*—"To the mother-goddesses of the father-land across the sea"—and similarly at Old Penrith, *Deabus Matribus Trœmarinis.*

A German inscription to Maponus was found at Old Penrith, and temples were probably erected in Britain, both to Maponus and Cocidius (Hübner vii., No. 332).

Assuming that the formula "di veteres" refers to "the old gods" of those lands the worshippers had left, as they supposed, for ever—like "the old country" of which English colonists beyond the seas fondly speak—its presence on Hadrian's Wall is accounted for, its absence from continental stations is explained, whilst its occurrence on a single stone in Spain may thus have had an origin that was not Spanish.

Of the fourteen British stations where the strange altars were found, the Rhenish tribes were actually present at eleven, and were in the vicinity of all the others.

These people, carried by the Romans *across a stormy sea*, and quartered on the confines of the empire, along the windy heights of Northumberland, with little chance of ultimate return, thought sometimes of the old country, the old home, "the old gods." Having but a provincial acquaintance with the Latin tongue, able to write in no other, and finding it often impossible to spell with Latin letters the names of the deities they loved, it was enough for them to carve with rude but faithful hands, on the altars we now know—DEO VETERI and DIBVS VETERIBVS.

AN IRISH ANALOGUE OF NIXON'S CHESHIRE PROPHECY.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

THE first printed edition of Nixon's Cheshire Prophecy was issued apparently in the year 1714, but how much earlier it was in circulation orally or in MS. is unknown. Dr. Ormerod was sceptical even as to the existence of the prophet, and a critical examination reveals many difficulties. The fact is that certain prophetical rhymes and figures have long been current in Great Britain and have been put into the mouths of various vaticinators. In the *Spottiswoode Miscellany* (vol. ii., p. 524) there is a reprint of a broadside that supplies an Irish analogue to some of the characteristic parts of Nixon's prophecy. This is so curious that it may be worth transcribing :—

A STRANGE AND WONDERFUL RELATION OF THE SWEEMING OF STONES, AND OF A BLOODY BATTLE OF THREE KINGS IN IRELAND.

From an old Irish prophecy (the authentick copy of which is not as yet come to hand) we have this account of several, both Scots and Irish men of great integrity and unquestionable credit, with whose memorie (tho' they cannot remember the whole) the following particulars are abundantly consistent, viz:—That Mr. Mansfield's mill, near Castle-Fin,

should fall of it self, which accordingly did, and that after the rebuilding thereof, the first miller that should come to it should have two thumbs upon one hand, which accordingly he hath, and that he could have no rest where he was before, till he came to that mill, after he heard of its being rebuilt. And that shortly after the stones of Fin-Water should sweem of themselves, either down or up the said water; and if they should sweem down the water, it should betoken much good to the Irish, but if they sweem'd up the water (as they did) then this presaged as much misery to befall them. Then after this, that there should come three kings to Ireland, and should meet near Castle-Fin, where they should have a bloody battel, with considerable great loss on all sides, and that one of the three Kings should receive a mortal wound, and should die in that mill.

Upon Thursday, the 4 of August, 1715, the following strange and surprising prodigy happened, being first discovered by a servant of Mr. Mansfield's, as he was going along by the foresaid water of Fin, in the county of Dunnigald, to his great amazement, he espied about a dozen of stones all sweeming up the stream in the ford near to Mr. Mansfield's house. Upon which strange and amazing sight, as the man was returning home to discover the same to his family, he met two honest men of his acquaintance, riding, to whom, relating this strange prodigy, they desired him to return with them that they also might behold what he had related to them; so, he leaping on behind one of them, they rode all three into the ford, wherein they plainly saw several stones sweeming, but particularly, to their great amazement and consternation, they clearly perceived three stones of a prodigious bigness, each of them being more than two horses could draw in a cart, sweeming by their horse legs. Upon which surprising sight, they went straight to Mr. Collier, a justice of peace, who, after strict examination of the truth, took all their oaths in the confirmation thereof. Another man came and informed Mr. Mansfield that he had seen another great stone sweeming up the water by itself several yards before the rest, which appearing to be the stone upon which the women used to beat their cloath, after tryal, it was found to be the same stone which lay by the ford side, and was the mith whereby the ford was known to be rideable or not; for when that stone was seen, any man might ride the ford, but when the water was over it,

none durst ride; when the water was low, it did not come the length of the stone. And which is admirable, that big stone did of itself creep out of the hole at this time into the water, and sweem'd up the stream like any strong fish or salmond, which can be attested by a great many creditable witnesses.

The ford was not of any deepness, not above half a yard and half an inch deep, so that the great stones did shove along through the ford like a boat on shallow water, raising the sand and the gravel, because they had not water to float, but in the deep water some would float, so that people were induced to go into the water with staves and canes, &c., to try if they could put them to the bottom, and keep them from sweeming, but they speedily sprang up again like cork, and did float. They continued sweeming and moving for two or three days, and went about two or three miles up the water; the second day of their sweeming a certain man, being hard of belief, fell a swearing at some of his neighbours, when he heard them tell of the stones sweeming, and how they did see them clearly sweeming against the stream like any strong fish, he told them that their eyes were fallacious and deceived them, or else they were drunk, for it was impossible for stones to sweem of themselves; whereupon the fellow rode straight to the river swearing and rideing as if the devil had drove him, for they must needs run whom the devil drives; and being come to the water he plainly perceived several stones sweeming amongst his horse feet, passing up the stream by him. Upon which amazing sight both he and his horse fell a trembling before they came out of the water, and so he went straight home, declaring the truth of the stones sweeming, as well as others—thus seeing makes believing all the world over: Some of the stones were stepping stones in the water, and the knocking stone that crept out of the bank into the water of itself. These remarkable stones are said to have returned back to their own places again, but there were several little ordinary stones sweeming amongst the big ones, of which no particular account needs be given.

The whole of this relation was brought from Ireland by a worthy minister of this church in November last, about the time of our greatest trouble and danger, who then gave unquestionable certainty of the premisses from the testimony of both ministers and others of good credit in Ireland, from

whom he had the same, and is ready upon occasion to confirm the whole of it, which would have been published long before this, had not the confusions of the times hindered its publication. Dublin printed, and Edinburgh re-printed by J. M.

There is not wanting in this rigmarole certain Defoe-like touches. The points it has in common with the Cheshire prophecy will easily be noted, and especially the miller with the abnormal thumbs. In Ireland he has two, in Cheshire three. The mill "falls of itself" at Castle Fin; at Vale Royal it is only a wall; at Castle Fin the stones swim up the stream; at Vale Royal the wall is contented with falling inwards instead of outward; but both are presages of the same quality. Then the struggle of the three kings is thus given in the rhyming version of Nixon:—

> **A boy shall be born with three thumbs on one hand,**
> **Who shall hold three kings' horses,**
> **Whilst England is three times lost and won in one day.**

This Irish variant was not known to me when editing Nixon in 1873 and 1878, and may be worth adding to the other analogues then cited of the Cheshire prophecy. It must be remembered that, however much we may now smile at these dark and mysterious sayings, they have had great influence in certain periods of our history. Even in the spacious times of great Elizabeth, there was a prohibition of the publication of "Any fond, fantistical, or false prophecy upon, or by occasion of any arms, fields, beasts, badges, or such other like things accustomed in arms, cognizances, or signets, or upon, or by reason of any time, year, or day, name, bloodshed, or war." This statutory enactment against false prophecies (5 Elizabeth, cap. 15) was not repealed until 1863.

RICHARD HEYRICK AND RICHARD HOLLINWORTH:

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY CHARLES W. SUTTON.

RICHARD HEYRICK.

RICHARD HEYRICK, son of Sir William Heyrick and cousin to the poet Herrick; born in London 1600; educated at Merchant Taylors' School, London, and St. John's College, Oxford; B.A. 19th October, 1619, M.A. 26th June, 1622; fellow of All Souls' College 14th January, 1624-5; instituted rector of North Repps, Norfolk, 9th June, 1626, warden of Manchester Collegiate Church 1635, rector of Ashton-on-Mersey, presented 14th July, 1640 (his successor being presented on 1st June, 1642), took the covenant 1642, appointed commissioner to be consulted about church government in Lancashire 23rd April, 1642; one of the "Tryers" appointed to decide upon the orthodoxy and maintenance of Lancashire ministers, 9th October, 1643; a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; moderator of the Lancashire Presbyterian Synod; on the dissolution of the Manchester Collegiate body in 1650 remained as one of the town's ministers, at a salary of £100; imprisoned

in 1651 for complicity in Love's plot; a commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, 1654; conformed in 1662 and retained his wardenship; rector of Thornton-le-Moors, near Chester, prior to 1662; died at Manchester 6th August, 1667, buried in the Collegiate Church. Married (1) at North Repps, Helen, daughter of Thomas Corbet, of Sprowston, Norfolk; (2) in 1642, Anna Maria Hall, widow, daughter of Erasmus Breton, of Hamburgh, merchant. He had issue by both wives.

Cf. Nichols's *Leicestershire*, iii. 159; Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 780; Wood's *Fasti*, i. 386, 406; Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations;* Raines's *Wardens*, ii. 122; Newcome's *Diary* and *Autob.;* Martindale's *Life;* Dugdale's *Visitation of Lanc.*, ii. 138; *Palatine Note-book*, vols. i. and ii.; Earwaker's *Manchester Court Leet Records*, iv. 283; *Commons' Journals*, iii. 270, iv. 127, v. 662, 663; Renshaw's *Ashton-upon-Mersey*, 1889, p. 16; Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly.*

Three Sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in MANCHESTER. The first on *Psal.* 122. ver. 6. *Iuly* 8. 1640 the publike Fast day: Shewing the misery of Warre, with our feares and hopes and meanes of Prevention. The second, on 2 *Thes.* 2. 15. *November* 5. 1638. Discovering the Man of Sinne, with his delusions, abominations and desolations. The third on *Genesis* 49. ver. 5. 6. 7. *November* 5. 1639. Laying open the Perjuries, Treacheries, Treasons, the Murthers, Massacres, Cruelties of Rome-Christian. By *Richard Heyricke*, Warden of the said COLLEDGE.

London, Printed by *T. B.* for *L. Fawne*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Parat, in Pauls Church Yard 1641.

8vo. Title 1 leaf, Epistle Dedicatory to the Commons House of Parliament 13 leaves. Sermons pp. 1-173. Pp. 51-2 are blank. [Manch. Free Lib.; Chet. Lib.; J. P. Earwaker.]

The Petition of divers of His Majesties faithfull Subjects, of the true Protestant Religion, in the County Palatine of *Lancaster:* Presented to His Majestie at *York* the last of May, by the high Sheriffe of that County, and divers other Gentlemen of Qualitie: and subscribed by 64 Knights and Esquires, 55 Divines, 740 Gentlemen, and of Freeholders and others above 7000. *With His Majesties Answer*, June 6. 1642.

London: Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: and by the Assignes of John Bill. MDCXLII.

4to. Title; pp. 6.

This was drawn up by Heyrick, and presented to the king at York on 31st May, 1642. See Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 8. [M.F.L., 2 editions; C.L.]

Numb. 3. A Particular Relation of the most Remarkable Occurrences from the Vnited Forces in the North . . . Sent from the Leagure before *Yorke* by *Sim. Ash* [and] *Will. Goode*, Chaplaines to the Earle of *Manchester*. Together with a true and most credible Relation of Prince *Ruperts* inhumane carriage at his taking of *Boulton*, in a Letter from Mr. *Herrick* of *Manchester* to the Lady *Herrick* in *London*.

London, Printed for *Thomas Vnderhill* at the Bible in Wood-street MDCXLIIII.

4to. Title; pp. 1-6. The letter from Mr. Herrick, "a godly Minister in Manchester," dated 7 June, 1644, fills page 5. [J.P.E.]

Queen *Esthers* Resolves: or a Princely Pattern of Heaven-born *Resolution*, for all the Lovers of God and their Country: opened in a Sermon [on Esther iv. 16] preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at the Monethly Fast, May 27. 1646. By Richard Heyricke, Warden of Christs Colledge in *Manchester* in *Lancashire*, and one of the Assembly of Divines. Exod. 32. 32. Yet now if thou wilt forgive their sin, and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy Book, which thou hast written. Rom. 9. 3. For I could wish that my self were accursed from Christ, for my Brethren, my kinsmen in the flesh. Jer. 3. 9. They are not Valiant for the Truth upon the Earth.

London, Printed by *T. Macock*, for *Lvke Fawne*, and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the *Parrot* in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1646.

4to. Leaf before title with thanks of Parliament, Title, A Sermon, pp. 1-32. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E.]

The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the *County Palatine* of Lancaster, with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of London, in their late Testimonie to the Trueth of Jesus Christ, and to our *Solemn League and Covenant;* as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them.

London, Printed by *J. Macock*, for *Luke Fawne*, at the sign of the *Parrot* in *Pauls* Church-yard. MDCXLVIII.

4to. Title. pp. 30. [J. P. E.]

Written by Heyrick. See Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations*, i. 394.

The Paper called the *Agreement of the People* taken into consideration, and the Lawfulness of Subscription to it Examined, and Resolved in the Negative, by the Ministers of Christ in the Province of Lancaster. Published by them especially for the satisfaction of the Conscience, and guiding of the practice of our entirely honored and beloved, the People of our several Churches, committed to our Charge; and for the general good of this Church & Nation.

London, Printed for Luke Fawne, and are to be sold by *Thomas Smith* at his shop in *Manchester*. 1649.

4to. Title. pp. 36. [M.F.L.; J. P. E.]

Signed by 54 ministers, the first two names being "Richard Heyrick, Warden of Christs Colledg in Manchester," and "Richard Hollinworth, Fellow of the said Colledg." Copious extracts from this tract are given in Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations*, i. 395, and the list of the clergy who signed this and the Harmonious Consent is reprinted in the *Commonwealth Church Survey* (Record Society).

A Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church at Manchester on *Tuesday* the 23 of April 1661. Being the Coronation-Day of his Royal Majestie Charles II. By *Richard Heyrick* Warden of the said Colledge.

London, Printed for Ralph Shelmerdine Bookseller in Manchester. 1661.

4to. Title, To the Reverend Richard Heyrick, &c., pp. 5. Sermon (Text 2 Kings ii, 12) pp. 32.

Only two copies of this sermon are known, one in the British Museum and the other in the Manchester Free Library. The latter was formerly in Mr. James Crossley's collection, and afterwards in that of Mr. J. E. Bailey. See Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations of Manchester*, i. 361, Mr. J. P. Earwaker's paper in *Trans. Lanc. and Chesh. Antiquarian Society*, vi. 14, and *Manchester Court Leet Records*, iv. 283.

The following address to Heyrick is printed before the sermon, and it would seem that the sermon itself was printed without the preacher's knowledge, and it is probable that he afterwards suppressed the tract.

Reverend Sir,

Of those Truths you have frequently delivered to us, this one, which you preached to our eares upon that happy and joyous day of his Majesties Coronation, which is not of the smallest concernment, a Truth, which with the King hath been an Exile, and banisht both the Pulpit and the Presse in this land for many yeares together; but since both are returned together home; the one to the Throne, the other to the Pulpit; the one Crowned, the other preached both on a day; we judged it worthy the Press, whereby it might better manifest it self to the world, that as at the Presence and sight of his Majesties Sacred Person, all his enemies flie and fall before him, so at the approach of this light, the grosse mists of errors and contrary tenents, which have possessed this Island of late yeares, might be dispelled and utterly confounded. Necessary also we judged it, in respect of us sonnes of the Church of England, to vindicate our selves, that though darkness might cover the surface of our Church, and seize upon some persons, yet we still kept this light within us unextinct, the doctrine of our Church we still retain, and we who are souldiers will fight for his Majestie, in defence thereof to the last drop of our blood, nor was it fit the Herauld and Proclaimer of this doctrine should be concealed and unknown, therefore passeth it under your name, Pardon us wherein we have acted without full directions from you, it was our love and zeal to the Truth, and to you the Preacher of it, that caused this forwardnesse in us. Sir, the Town in general, we more particularly who were further Actors in the Solemnization of the day, are obliged to you for your

great paines: And to testifie our gratitude for so great a favour, thought good to send them both together abroad into the World, your paines, with our unfeined thanks affixed thereto, who in the name of our selves, and the rest of our souldiers under our Command, do subscribe ourselves. Sir, your affectionate Neighbours and well-Wishers.

Manchester May 11. 1661.

JOHN BYROM Major of the Trained Band.	NICHOLAS MOSLEY Captain of the Auxiliaries.
JOHN CAWSEY Lieut.	WILLIAM HEAWOOD Lieut.
HUGH JOHNSON Ensign.	WILLIAM BYROM Ensigne.

RICHARD HOLLINWORTH.

Richard Hollinworth, son of Francis Hollinworth and his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Wharmby, baptised at Manchester Collegiate Church, 15th November, 1607; educated at Manchester Grammar School and Magdalen College, Cambridge; B.A. 1626-7, M.A. 1630; curate of Middleton about 1630 to 1635; minister of Sacred Trinity Chapel, Salford, about 1635, resigned before 1650; fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church 1643; named in ordinance for ordaining ministers 1644; aided Heyrick in forming the Presbyterian Church discipline in Lancashire 1646; imprisoned in Liverpool in 1651 for complicity in Love's plot; a commissioner for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, 1654; a feoffee for carrying out Humphrey Chetham's will; died suddenly on 3rd November, 1656, buried in the Manchester Collegiate Church. His wife, Margaret, was buried there 16th November, 1654.

Cf. Hibbert-Ware's *Manchester Foundations;* Raines's MSS.; Newcome's *Autobiography;* Earwaker's *Manchester Court Leet Records*, iii. 189; Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, ii. 29; *Palatine Note-book*, i. 83, 105, iv. 107; *Local Gleanings*, i. 36, 263; Christie's *Old Libraries*, p. 71; *Lancashire Church Surveys*, p. 5; Halley's *Lancashire Nonconformity.*

ou. mitte his shop.

4to. n Examination of Sundry Scriptures alleadged by our Brethren, in Defence e Particulars of their Church-Way. Humbly submitted to the Sight and

Censure of any judicious Divine: especially of such of the Reverend Godly-Learned Assembly as vouchsafe to read it. By R. Hollingworth *M.A.* of Magd. *Col.* Camb. Imprimatur, *Ja Cranford. Decemb.* 17. 1644.

London, Printed by *J. R.* for *Tho. Smith*, and are to be sold at his Shop at *Manchester*. 1645.

4to. Title with Preface to the Reader at back; An Examination, &c., pp. 1-30. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E.]

This tract was answered in the following:—

A Defence of sundry Positions, and *Scriptures* alledged to justifie the *Congregationall-way;* charged at first to be weak therein, impertinent, and unsufficient; By *R. H.* M.A. of *Magd. Col. Cambr.* in his Examination of them; But upon *further Examination*, cleerly manifested to be *Sufficient, Pertinent*, and *full of Power*. By *Samuel Eaton*, Teacher and *Timothy Taylor*, Pastor, of the Church in *Duckenfield*, in *Cheshire*. Isai. 26. 12. 13 *Lord, thou wilt ordaine peace for us; for even thou hast wrought all our works in us. O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy Name.* Published according to Order.

London, Printed by *Matthew Simmons*, for *Henry Overton*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Popes-head Alley*. 1645.

4to. Title, Contents, &c., 4 leaves. Text pp. 1-130. A Table, &c., 2 leaves. [M.F.L. (imperfect); C.L.; J. P. E.]

Certain Queres Modestly (though plainly) Propounded to such as affect the Congregational-way, and specially to Master *Samuel Eaton* and Mr. *Timothy Taylor*. With an Epistle also directed to them concerning their late Book Intituled *A Defence of sundry Positions*, &c. By *Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniensis.*

You shall not turn aside to the right hand, or to the left. Deut. 5 [32]. *If they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no light in them.* Isai. 8. 20. *If the light that is in thee be darknesse, how great is that darknesse?* Matth. 6 [23].

London, Printed by *Ruth Raworth*, for *Thomas Smith*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Manchester*. 1646.

4to. Title and the Epistle (signed R. H. November 29. 1645), pp. 1-15; The Queres, pp. 16-31. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E., the last without the Manchester imprint.]

The copy in the Manchester Free Library contains many manuscript additions and corrections in Hollinworth's handwriting. At the foot of the title-page is written, "These received frō London Jan. 1645" [*i.e.*, 1645-6].

His opponents returned to the attack in the following:—

The Defence of sundry Positions & Scriptures for the Congregational-way Justified: or An Answer to an Epistle written by Mr. *Richard Hollingworth*, unto *S. E.* and *T. T.* wherein he (in many particulars) chargeth them with injurious dealing against God, and against himselfe, in that Booke of theirs, called *A Defence of sundry Positions*, &c. Con-

taining A Vindication from such Charges and Aspersions so laid upon them. *As also a briefe Answer to his large (if not unreasonable)* demands, to have Scripturall, or rationall Answ. given to his 112 Queries. By Sam: Eaton Teacher, Tim: Taylor Pastor, of the Church at *Duckenfield* in *Cheshire. Published according to Order.*

London, Printed by *Matthew Simmons*, for *Henry Overton*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Popes-head-Alley* 1646.

4to. pp. iv. 46. [M.F.L.; C.L.]

A Rejoynder to Master *Samuel Eaton* and Master *Timothy Taylor's* Reply. Or, An Answer to their late Book called *A Defence of sundry Positions and Scriptures, &c.* With some occasionall Animadversions on the Book called the *Congregational way justified.* For the satisfaction of all that seek the Truth in love, especially for his *dearly beloved and longed for*, the Inhabitants in and neer to *Manchester* in *Lancashire.* Made and Published by *Richard Hollinworth*, Mancuniens.

The Lord will shew who are *his and who are holy.*

London, Printed by *T. R.* and *E. M.* for *Luke Fawne*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Parrot in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1647.

4to. Title, Contents, and note to the reader signed R. H., pp. iv. A Rejoynder, pp. 1-136, 1-108. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E.]

The Main Points of *Church-Government* and Discipline; Plainly and modestly handled by way of Question and Answer. Very useful to such as either want Money to buy, or Leasure to read larger Tracts. By R. Hollinworth.

London, Printed by *J. M.* for Luke Favvne, and are to be sold by *Thomas Smith* at his shop in *Manchester.* 1649.

12mo. Title; The Epistle to the Reader, signed by Christopher Love, 1 leaf; a Plain Platform, &c., pp. 58. [C.L.]

The Catechist Catechized: or, An Examination of an *Anabaptistical Catechism*, Pretended to be Published for the Satisfaction and Information of the People of God in *Lancashire, &c.* Also some Observations both Old and New, concerning the pretended Visibility, Universality, Antiquity, Infallibility, Unity and Purity of the present *Roman* Church and Religion. Sent to a Gentleman upon his revolt to Popery, and now published for the Churches good. By Richard Hollinworth, *Mancuniens.*

London, Printed by *J. M.* for *Luke Fawn*, and are to be sold by *Tho. Smith* at his shop in *Manchester.* 1653.

4to. Title; Letter to Hollinworth by Richard Heyricke; Epistle "To all in Lancashire that love and seek the Lord in all his Soul-filling Ordinances, especially them of the associated Churches about Manchester," signed John Angier, John Harison, Nathaneel Rathband, William Meek; The Author's Preface = 4 leaves. The Catechist, &c., pp. 1-51. It has been suggested that the "pervert" of the second portion of this tract was Mr. Downes, of Wardley. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E.]

The Holy Ghost on the Bench, other Spirits at the Bar: Or the Judgment of the Holy Spirit of God upon the Spirits of the Times. *Recorded in Holy Writ.* And Reported by *Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniens.*

London, Printed for *Luke Fawn,* and are to be sold by *Ralph Shelmerdine,* Bookseller in *Manchester.* 1656.

Small 8vo. Title, To the Reader, signed "R. H., Manchester March 1. $165\frac{5}{6}$," To the Reader, signed Tho. Manton, The Contents, Errata = 14 pp. Text, pp. 112. [J. P. Earwaker.]

The Holy Ghost on the Bench, other Spirits at the Barre: Or the Judgement of the holy Spirit of God upon the Spirits of the Times. Recorded in Holy Writ: and Reported by *Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniens. The Second Edition, much Corrected.*

London, Printed by *J: M,* for *Luke Fawn,* and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Signe of the *Parrot* in *Pauls Churchyard.* 1657. [M.F.L.; C.L.; J. P. E.]

Same pagination as the first edition, but there is no "Errata" after the Contents, the corrections being made in the text. The book has been entirely set up afresh.

Mancuniensis; or, an History of the Towne of Manchester, and what is most memorable concerning it. By R. Hollingworth.

Manchester: Published by William Willis, Hanging Ditch; and sold by Joseph Lilly, and Edward Lumley, London. MDCCCXXXIX.

8vo. Title. Dedication to Fenton Robinson Atkinson, Prefatory Notice, Description of the engraved title-page = pp. viii. Mancuniensis, pp. 9-126. With engraved title and a map of Manchester taken about 1650.

The original manuscript and two transcripts are preserved in the Chetham Library.

MANCHESTER AND THE REBELLION OF 1745.

(The Diary of one of the Constables of Manchester in 1745.)

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

SO much has been written, from time to time, about the advance of the rebel army, commanded by Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, through Lancashire, their stay in Manchester, and their journey through Cheshire to Derby, with their subsequent retreat, that it may possibly seem a somewhat hackneyed subject to treat upon at the present time. Strange, however, as it may appear, it is only within the last few months that I have been fortunate enough to recover the Diary of one of the two Constables of Manchester, who held office during that eventful period. This Diary, which of course only records the proceedings of some ten days or so, is by no means a long document, neither does it pretend to rival that famous Diary of Miss Elizabeth Byrom, "Beppy Byrom," which was printed by the Chetham Society more than thirty years ago, in 1857.

From the perusal of that Diary a very graphic picture may be drawn of the arrival of the so-much-dreaded

Highlanders in the then small town of Manchester, the entrance of the Prince, his lodging at the house of Mr. Dickenson, in Market Street Lane, afterwards called the Palace, and the mimic Court which he held there. Miss Beppy was a sad Jacobite, and she records her admiration for the Prince in no measured terms. The Diary of Mr. Thomas Walley, the Constable of Manchester, on the other hand, is that of a man who was obliged, in consequence of the office he held, to perform very unpleasant tasks, and both he and his brother constable and their deputy, were forced to behave in a manner very much against their inclinations. This Diary gives much new information as regards the proceedings of the rebel army in Manchester, and confirms what has previously been known in a striking manner, and so it will, I think, be found an interesting and quite new contribution to the history of that period. This period, it may be incidentally remarked, is one that possesses very great attractions for all Manchester men, and is one to which they very frequently refer.

The month of November, 1745, was, as far as Lancashire and the north of England were concerned, one of great anxiety and uneasiness. It was known that the rebels had assembled an army in Scotland and were prepared to invade England, and many references were no doubt frequently made to the previous invasion of "the old Pretender" in 1715, and the disastrous consequences which befell his adherents after his forces had been dispersed at Preston. But, as time drew on and more authentic news arrived, it soon became clear that the threatened invasion was no idle boast. On the 14th November, Lord Derby, the Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, and the Lancashire militia came to Manchester, and an attempt was made to get them into a fit state to meet the rebel army, but with little or no success. Mr. Walley records how he waited upon Lord Derby, and a

discussion arose as to what should be done with the large amount of gunpowder then in the town. On Saturday, the 23rd November, Lord Derby left the town and stated that the militia would probably be discharged on the Monday or Tuesday following. This took place, and, as Beppy Byrom records in her Diary, "Yesterday [Tuesday the 26th November] the militia was all discharged and sent home, but just in time before the Highlanders came," and, she very naively adds, "well contrived!" When the town was thus left perfectly defenceless, on the same Tuesday, the magistrates held a meeting, at which the Constables attended, in order to decide "what was best to be done." And in the Constables' Accounts for this year, which I have recently printed at the end of vol. vii. of the Manchester Court Leet Records, we read as follows:—

26 [Nov.] Repaid Mr. Walley sundry expenses at the Old Coffee House, Bulls Head and Angel. 01. 06. 00.
26 [Nov.] Repaid Mr. Fowden do. at meetings to consider what was best to be done - - - - 01. 06. 00.

Nor had they much time to spare, for two days later the Highlanders were in possession of the town!

The following list of dates will serve to help towards a clear conception of the sequence of events:—

Tuesday, 26th November.—At eleven in the morning the rebels entered Preston, and at twelve o'clock Lord Elcho marched into the town at the head of one hundred and forty horse, and in the evening the Prince came in with the foot soldiers, estimated at about fifteen hundred or two thousand men.

Wednesday, 27th November.—The main body of the rebel army arrived at Preston.

Thursday, 28th November.—The vanguard moved forward through Wigan towards Manchester, and at three o'clock in the afternoon "two men in Highland dress

and a woman behind one of them, with a drum on her knee," reached Manchester and began beating up for recruits, not meeting with the slightest opposition. About eight o'clock this evening a body of the rebel horse came in.

Friday, 29th November.—The rest of the rebel army entered Manchester, the Prince marching in at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at four o'clock the King, James III., was proclaimed at the Cross.

Saturday, 30th November.—The rebels remained in the town all day. The bridges leading into Cheshire, which had been broken down, were as far as possible repaired.

Sunday, 1st December.—The Prince and his army left Manchester, and marched by various routes to Macclesfield and Congleton, where they stayed that night.

They then pushed on as far as Derby, where a council of war was held, and, much against the Prince's inclination and wishes, they began to retrace their steps.

Saturday, 7th December.—There was "great talk" of the Highlanders coming to Manchester again, and on

Sunday, 8th December, exactly one week after they had left the town, they marched back again. A mob of armed people had assembled to oppose them, and were with difficulty prevented from doing any mischief and sent back to their homes.

Monday, 9th December.—The rebel troops kept returning to Manchester, and by the evening they were all quartered in the town.

Tuesday, 10th December.—Before leaving the rebels demanded a contribution of £5,000 from the town as compensation for the rough conduct of the mob, and after some difficulty they agreed to take half that amount, which was raised and paid them by one o'clock, when the rearguard quitted the town.

With these few preliminary remarks I will leave Mr. Walley's Diary to speak for itself. I may, perhaps, apologise for an occasional roughness of speech which Mr. Walley puts into the mouths of the various officers with whom he came into contact, but it will be remembered that at that time and for many years afterwards, hard swearing was one of the accompaniments of the speech of every officer and gentleman.

THE DIARY OF MR. THOMAS WALLEY, ONE OF THE CONSTABLES OF MANCHESTER.

"MEMORANDUM, *Nov^r. . . . 1745.*

"At a meeting of S^r. Henry Houghton, Horton of Chatterton, M^r. Dukinfield and others, my brother Constable [Mr. William Fowden] and I and M^r. Bowker, the Deputy Constable, was desired to attend them at M^r. Bartholemews at the sign of the Bulls head in Manchester, which we all did. S^r. Henry Houghton acquainted us that he had received an order from his Grace of Newcastle, to take an account of what gunpowder was in town, in the hands of the persons who sold it. We attended S^r. Henry Houghton and others, and they took the names of the several dealers and what quantity they had. At which time they were desired to take an account what powder they sold, and quantity, and to what persons they sold it to, which I believe they did."

"MEMORANDUM, *Nov^br. 14th,** *1745.*

"My Lord Derby being come to Manchester with several officers of the Militia, as a great number of the Militia was

* "The 14th [Nov.] my Lord Derby is come to town to have the militia put in readiness. They are all quartered in town."—(*Beppy Byrom's Journal.*) See also the Manchester Constables' Accounts (*Court Leet Records*, vol. vii., *Appendix*).

in town, his Lordship as Lord Lievetenant of the County sent for Mr. Fowden, my brother Constable, and I to the Bulls Head. At which meeting it was proposed by Mr. Edward Chetham that the gentlemen had been considering upon the large quantity of gunpowder that was in several persons hands in town, that care should be taken that it should not fall into the hands of the Rebells should they come to Manchester. Mr. Chetham proposed that we as Constables should take care of it and thought if we paid for the same powder we might be repaid by the town. I was desired to go and consult with my brother Constable [Mr. William Fowden] and the Gentlemen of the town, which we did at the Old Coffee House. It was the opinion of the Gentlemen that gave us the meeting upon the occasion that my Lord Derby as Lord Lievetenant of the County had a power to sease the said powder if his Lordship pleased, or if his Lordship thought proper he might give an order upon the Treasurer of the County to pay for the said powder and to take [the] powder into his own custody. His Lordship was not pleased with the answer the gentlemen sent by me. Upon which the said Mr. Chetham said to his Lordship, 'Your Lordship now sees what a town it is,' upon which I made answer to him, 'What do you mean?' Mr. Chetham then said if their was a subscription to be offered in town upon any account a large sum would soon be subscribed. It was afterwards proposed by the said Mr. Chetham that if a number of persons in town would agree to take twenty or forty pounds of the said powder, it might be of service, which proposal I agreed to and would be one of the number. I then said to my Lord Derby that if they came to any resolution of removing the said powder out of town, if they would send the powder to the Governour of Chester Castle or to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who was then

with the Army in Staffordshire, we would send it at the expense of the town. His Lordship and the gentlemen came to no resolution upon the affair. I left the company and heard no further of it."

"Upon *Saturday the 23d of November* I waited upon my Lord Derby at the Bulls Head, being inform'd his Lordship was for London the next morning, to wish his Lordship a good journey. His Lordship told me he could not tell then whether he went up but expected an express that evening, but that he thought he should go. I asked his Lordship if the Militia was to continue in town. His Lordship told me he believed they would be discharged either Monday [the 25th] or Tuesday [the 26th] which they was."*

"Upon *Tuesday the 26th of November* Mr Walley one of the Constables of Manchester waited upon James Chetham Esqr and Robert Booth Esqr two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, for the County of Lancashire at the House of John Rawsthorne at the sign of the Griffin at Dangerous Corner [in Manchester] being the house that the Justices meet at. And their took the directions from James Chetham Esqr aforesaid, in what manner he the said Thomas Walley and his brother Constable, and there Debity [Deputy] should act and behave if the rebels should send for them, when they came to the said town.† The said James Chetham by his

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* "Yesterday [26 Nov.] the militia was all discharged and sent home, but just in time before the Highlanders came—well contrived!"—(*Beppy Byrom's Journal.*)

† 26th [Nov.] Repaid Mr. Walley sundry expenses at Old Coffee house Bulls Head and Angel - - - - - - - 01. 06. 00.
26th [Nov.] Repaid Mr. Fowden do. at meetings to consider what was best to be done - - - - - - - - - 01. 06. 00.
(*Manchester Constables' Accounts.*)

directions said whatever they forced the Constables to do we must be oblidg'd to observe, which directions from him, we strictly perform'd and by force obeyed."

"A Coppy of Edward Chetham Esq^rs letter to M^r. Walley.

S^r.

If all private houses in this town must necessarily have part of the forces that are expected here, I desire you (as far as you shall be concern'd in the disposition of them) to use your indeavour that none be quartered upon me, but such as are likely to behave well, for though I am going from home I have ordered them to be accommodated as well in all respects, as if I was present, the granting this request will much oblidge S^r.

Your sincere friend &
very humble servant
EDW^D CHETHAM.

Manchester
November: 27^th 1745

To M^r. Walley.

A true coppy of M^r. Chetham's letter w^ch was deliver'd to M^r. Walley by Barnet Shaw."

"MANCHESTER *Thursday Novb^r. 28. 1745.*

"I was inform'd about three in the afternoon that a serg^t. and a drum was come to Town belonging to the Rebells and that a party of them being the advance Guard was soon expected, upon which I went home. About five in the evening I went to M^r. Pattens. At six I went to M^r. Feildings [Fielden, the Boroughreeve] designing to spend the night with him as I had promised. I desired M^r. Feilding [Fielden] to let one of his servants to go to my house, which he did and I desired her to let my wife know where I was, and that if I was asked for by any of the Rebells, she must say that she did not know where I was, but

that the[y] might inquire at the Bulls Head or the Old Coffey House. About nine some persons ringed the bell at Mr. Feildings, upon which Mrs Feilding knowing I had deny'd myself being there, went to the door, at which two men went by and said a party of the Rebells horse was come to town, and was at the Cross, about two hundred. I left Mr. Feildings soon after to go to the Old Coffey House, where I was inform'd I had been asked for some time before, upon which I sent one of Mrs Newton's* sons to see Mr. Bowker [the Deputy Constable] who sent me word that they quartered them selves, but that I must come. According[ly] I went to the Bulls Head. In the gateway I found Mr. Foden [William Fowden, the other Constable] who told me that upon his appearance with the Coll. [Colonel], as he call'd himself, he ask'd by what authority he sent or commanded him, upon which the said Coll. lay'd his hand upon the hilt of his sword and drew part of it out and said 'by that.' Upon which Mr. Foden made answer he did obey. I then went up to the Coll. He told me he had sent for me some time agoe and was not pleased that I had not obeyed his command. He told me that the Gentlemen, as he call'd them, was quarter'd and no others should be quarter'd the next day at the Bulls Head. The Coll went over to Mr. Burrys shop. I returned back to the Coffey house."

"MEMORANDUM, *Thursday 28th November 1745.*

"About eight in the evening Mr. James Marsden† of Manchester sent a servant to my house to desire I would come up to him. Some time afterwards Mr. John Dickinson sent a servant likewise to desire I would come up to him. I did

* Mrs. Newton kept the Old Coffee House Tavern in Manchester.

† Mr. Marsden's house is shown in "the South West Prospect of Manchester and Salford" which was issued by Robert Whitworth, of Manchester, *c.* 1740-50.

not come home then [till] near twelve a clock, and my wife asked me when I came home if I had been up at Mr Marsden's, and Mr Dickinson's as they had sent for me. I told her I had not. But the next morning the first place I went to, I did wait upon them both, Mr Marsden the first. When I was with him he desired, as part of the Rebells' horse was come into town the night before, that if I and the other Constable was to quarter them, that was expected in that day, he desired it as a favour that I would send him such of them as I thought would behave well, in his family. I told him anything in my power as Constable he might depend on. When I waited upon Mr Dickinson it was for the same purpose. I promised him that I would do him any service in my power, and acquainted him that I had been with Mr Marsden, and that had I known when they sent for me, I would have waited of them, but that it was late before I left the Coffee House. I asked one of the officers as he took himself to be, whether it was known before the Prince, as he call'd him, came into any town, where he was to lodge. He said it was not known then. Some one person came back to him and made a report for that it was always the method they took upon their march. He gave me no other answer or reason."

"Mr Walley received one letter from Mrs Bland, Mr Chetham's sister, to do her any service that was in his power in relation to the Rebells, when they was expected to come to town. As to any of them that might come to her house he promised his friendship to her, if in his power. Likewise a letter from Mr Mottershead the Presbyterian Minister, and one letter after from Doctr Manwaring to the like effect. And he promised the like assistance unto them."

"*Friday 29* [*November*] about nine in the morning I was sent for up by the said Coll to come to him at the Bulls

head. He then told me that the P. [Prince], as he call'd him, was to come into town and that in all places he had been rec^d by the M^r Bailiffes & Constables and expected the like compliance from the town, and [desired] that we went out to meet him. Upon which I told him that the extent of the town was no further than Salford Bridge, which they came over, and that we had no power in that town. Then he commanded me to ring the bells and to send the Bellman about the town to let the inhabitants know they must illuminate and ordered me to make bonfires. I then told him that I had no power of the bells, the Church Wardens directed that. Upon which he commanded me to send for them, which I did. He then asked me what number of officers we had. I told him only two and a Debuty [Deputy]. Upon which he seemed surprized how we could doe all in so large a town [and said] we must make more for to assist us. I told him we could not. He then said one of the Constables must allways attend near the Prince's lodging, as he call'd him, and that if his orders to his officers was not obeyed, and we did not our duty; milletary execution would be laid upon us. The Quarter Master Generall, as they call'd him, being come to town, sent for me up to the Sarisons Head [Saracen's Head] in Markett Street Lane, [but] being ingaged with M^r Stirling* who went from the town, who had joyn'd them, with an officer who had, with him, demanded Billetts, detained me some time. Being discharged from them I went up to the Sarrisons Head. When I came into the Parlour where I found M^r Bowker, who I heard had been under arrest by the Quarter Master, they told him I was the other Constable. He asked me where I had been all that time that I

* "Hugh Stirling, that was 'prentice at Mr. Hibberts is with them."—(*Beppy Byrom's Journal.*)

had not appeared before. I said I had been giveing out Billetts to an officer and Mr. Stirling. 'God Dame you Sr. none of your Billetts shall pass, go and call them in again, we will quarter our selves.' Upon which I returned to the Bulls Head and acquainted Mr. Stirling and the officer with it. The Coll. who first sent for me seeing me in the passage call'd me and said 'Sr. neither of your Churchwardens has been with me, God Dame you Sr. send for them or go yourself.' Upon which I went and met them going up. After the Prince, as they call'd him, was come into town, I was sent for but was not at home. I then was sent afterwards to come up and bring my staff, which I sent by my servant to Mr. Foden's. When I came to the Bulls Head, 'Dame you Sr.' said the Coll 'where have you been, we have waited for you some time.' Mr. Foden was gone to look for me, upon which I went with an officer to Mr. Foden's. When Mr. Foden came in we went to Mr. Dickenson's where they had been waiting for us some time, ordered Mr. Foden and I to go before them down Markett Street Lane to the Cross, which we did. When we came up to the Cross an officer had a paper in his hand, and commanded me to read it, which I refused. He then told me I must read it after him. I told him I could not, I had a hesitation, upon which he commanded Mr. Foden to read it. He refused, but [he] made him repeat it after him, which he very unwillingly did.* We returned back to Mr. Dickinson's. I left my staff at Mr. Marsden's. We was some time after sent for to an officer that commanded the Trane [the Artillery Train], to the Spread Eagle in the Hanging Ditch, where we went. He asked us if we were the Constables. We made answer.

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* "Friday 29th . . . eleven o'clock we went up to the Cross to see the rest come in. . . . The Prince went straight up to Mr. Dickinsons where he lodges. . . . There came an officer up to us at the Cross and gave us the manifesto and declarations."—(*Beppy Byrom's Journal.*)

He then told us we must press 180 horses with carriages for the Trane &c. We told him we could do no such a thing. We had few carriages in town or horses. He then said, 'You have a High Constable where is he?' We told him his Debuty [Deputy] was in town, upon which he sent the landlord of the house and would not let us go. Then Mr Smith came. He said if Mr Smith did not obey his orders, he would fire his house and put him under milletary execution, for all orders must and should be obeyed."

"*Saturday* [*Nov.*] *30th*—I was sent for by an officer to go up to the Prince, as they call'd him, but first I must go to know if the timber planks &c. was gone to Crossford.* Upon which I went up to the Timber yard, and with another officer, where I found Mr Bowker [the other Constable] two carts with timber and some men with planks was going. The officer commanded me to send for a number of Links which I must have for them, which I did. Then I was to go with an officer up to the Prince, as they call'd him, and make a report. I was at the door of the Parler where the officer asked me, 'Did you see the Timber Planks, Nails, Ropes, &c. go towards Crossford Bridge.' I made answer 'several carts was gone and others agoing.'

"I was sent for to the Quarter Master Generall, as he call'd himself, and had his orders to go with the other Constables about the Town and where we found no houses had any of their men, we must remove them [from] other houses. I told him if they had been billeted as we would have had them, it might have been better for all the housekeepers. Accordingly Mr Fowden and I agreed, he to take Market Street Lane and King Street. I took the Square, Ridge field and Deans Gate which we did."

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* To repair Crossford Bridge leading over the river into Stretford.

"Upon *Saturday the 30th of November* in the afternoon, one of the Rebells' officers design'd to send a party of two hundred of their horses and men to Mr Reynolds house [Strangeways Hall], and when I heard of it I desired that they would not, for Mr Reynolds had been out of the country some time. As their men were fixed in other places, I desired it as a favour that they would not remove them. One of the Rebell officers made answer, 'Dam him, his father was a South Sea Director and he was an enemy to the Prince,' as he call'd him. Upon my application to them, the men and horses that was design'd to have gone to his house was I believe prevented by my application and my wife's."

"*Sunday December the 1st*—About three in the afternoon I was sent for by a servant of the Bulls Head to come up to Major Hays, as he call'd himself. If I did not immeadiately come a party should come for me. I went up. The Major demanded a horse and a man to take him over Barlaford [Barlow Ford], then he must take them to Altringham. I told him I would send for the Deputy to do it. 'God Dame You Sr sit down, you shall not go then [until] the man and horse is in the yard.' Upon which I sent for Mr Bowker, who got the man and horse. The Major said the man must be one that did know the ford and Chedel ford. An officer made answer, 'Dam it, what is that to us, he shall go over the ford first.' I was then released and left them.

(Signed) THOS WALLEY."

"[*Sunday*] *Decbr the 8th*—We received an account from Macellsfield that the Rebells was near that town in their retreat. Upon which I was inform'd that notice had been given in several Churches, as Oldham, Sadellworth, and other Parish Churches, to desire all persons who had arms

or any weapons to appear at Manchester the next day, which was thought by several in the town of Manchester, that it would be the ruin of the town if those persons came in. Upon which we was advised to set several persons towards Ashton and Oldham in the road, to desire they would return home. There was about three or four hundred gathered together, part of which number was the Militia. Mr. Bradsheigh one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, and Dr. Manwaring had sent the Bellman of the town to desire all persons in town to rise, which the Bellman, as I sent for to know who gave him [such] orders, acquainted me. I desired him to go to the same place where I call'd him off and do as the Justice and Dr. Manwaring ordered. I then went to wait of Mr. Booth who is in the Commission of the [Peace] to advise, as being the only Justice in town, to see if we could not prevail with this mob, as was gathered together to disperse, which we did. Then they went out of town to Cheadel fford. One Hilton who they call'd Captain desired them to goe with him in order to destroy the Ford in hopes of preventing the Rebells returning that way."

"[*Monday*] *December 9th* the Rebells returned back to Manchester. After they had been in town some time I was sent for up to Mr. Dickinson's house where the Prince, as they call'd him, was. After waiting some time one of the Gentlemen, who was Under Secratary, delivered me a paper and ordered me to send the Bellman about the town to give notice to all the inhabitants, that if above two together was out after nine a clock they must take care because they should patrole all night. And the said gentlemen expressed very great anger at the beheavour of the Mobb when they came into town. I was ordered to attend near Mr. Dickinson's house to receive any further order or orders [which] they sent after. I went to the Bulls Head being asked for

by a Gentleman who was the Coll as he call'd himself, who when I came to him, he desired to know who was the person that call'd the mobb into the town and what they design'd by it. I acquainted him that the Constables had done all in their power to disperse them, which we had before they came into town. He then asked who it was that had taken up and carried one of their men, and who it was that sent him to the house of Correction. I told him that my brother Constable had taken him out of the mob's hands for fear least he should be kill'd, and took him to his own house and afterwards to the Bulls Head, and that towards evening when the mobb was dispers'd we sent him down to the House of Correction thinking it the safest place. Upon which the Coll damn'd and went with some of the other Rebels down to the House of Correction and took him out."

"The next morning being the tenth [December] I was sent for up to Mr Dickinsons to the Gentleman who gave me the order to send the Bellman the night before. When I came up he told me that I must send the Bellman about the town. I asked him for what. He told me that he must give notice to all the inhabitants in the town that if the Prince, as he call'd him, or any of his officers or soldiers was molested by the mobb or any persons as they marched out of town the person or persons would be shot upon the spot. I desired he would give me an order to send the Bellman as he had done before and said he was busy. 'God dame you, send the Bellman away as I command you,' which I did.

(Signed) THOS WALLEY."

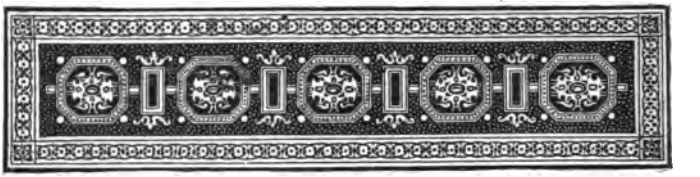
"A true coppy of the journal taken in Mr Walley's Scrutore [escritoire] by Mr Nathan Carrington one of the Kings Messingers at Manchester upon Friday April the 25th 1746."

"[On *Monday, the 9th December*] the order they sent to my brother Fowden for the town to advance the five thousand pound was delivered to him and the money ordered to be paid the next day being the tenth of December at four in the afternoon. Upon which my brother Constable sent for several gentlemen of the town to the Coffee House upon the affair. One of the Rebells officers acquainted me that had not the mob, and the persons gathered together behaved as they did, we had had no such sum levied upon the town. When I was sent for up the next morning [*Tuesday, December 10*] to receive their orders for [to] send the Bellman which I have mentioned before, I applied to see if the order might not be called back by assuring them we had not, I believed, so much cash in town, and that it was impossible to have the money. Upon which I was ordered to send for the order back, and the order made after was for two thousand five hundred pounds which was saving the town so much money."

I have now finished with Mr. Walley's Diary, and I trust it will be found to have borne out my opening remarks as being an interesting and not unimportant addition to the literature of the '45. The document which I now exhibit is not, of course, the original diary, which was seized by the Government, but a contemporary copy, copied very hurriedly and somewhat carelessly by a clerk, but bearing on one page Mr. Walley's autograph signature, showing it was once in his hands. The entries are not arranged in proper chronological order, but that I have rectified, and I have preserved the language of the original, only correcting a few obvious clerical errors, and adding a few explanatory words within brackets to make the sense clearer.

It only remains to add that in 1747 Mr. Walley's brother Constable, Mr. William Fowden, was tried at Lancaster on

the charge of high treason; but, the evidence being overwhelmingly strong that all he had done was under compulsion and not of his own free will, he was honourably acquitted, and on his return to Manchester was received with great rejoicings. No action appears to have been taken against Mr. Walley, and I think it is only fair conjecture that this very diary in his own handwriting, which was seized a few months after the events there recorded, proved conclusively that he had acted as he had done at the compulsion of the Prince, "as he called himself," and the officers under his command, whose orders seem to have been always couched in language more forcible than polite.



THE MEANING OF ORNAMENT;

OR ITS ARCHÆOLOGY AND ITS PSYCHOLOGY.

BY H. COLLEY MARCH, M.D.

I.—The Æsthetic Sense.

A SUBJECT so vast as that of the origin or archæology of ornament, that would require a work of many volumes to be adequately dealt with, must be altogether unmanageable within the compass of a paper, unless it be rigidly limited and defined.

In the first place, then, we may discard any consideration of colour. Next, we may set aside all the emblazonments of war, designs, like those painted on a shield, for the purpose of bewildering or affrighting the foe; as well as all mere bedizenments of the person, as when a feather, a shell, a crystal, is fastened into hair or ear. And lastly, the better to limit and define, we may rely, for the most convenient authority, on one that has received the sanction of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, namely, Wornum's *Analysis of Ornament* (7th ed.). This shall tell us what ornament is, and then we shall be at liberty to discover for ourselves how it came to be so.

"Any object *treated naturally*," says Mr. Wornum (p. 15), "is

only a model; it is not an ornament. To be an ornament it must be applied as *an accessory decoration to something else.* It is not the substitute of the useful, and can have no independent existence (*Ib.*, p. 9). Sculpture in the pediment of a Greek temple, or a picture in the panel of a wall, may from its general form or arrangement share in the ornamental effect, but when examined in detail they are no longer ornaments, but independent works of fine art" (*Ib.*, p. 18).

"*Ornament consists in contrast, repetition, and series;* but series comprises repetition and defines its order" (*Ib.*, p. 14).

"The symbolic style of ornament appeals to our understandings; the æsthetic to our feelings" (*Ib.*, p. 1).

"In its strictest æsthetic sense ornament has a perfect analogy with music; both are *necessities of the mind,* which is similarly gratified, in the one case through the eye, by repetition and series, in the other case through the ear, by melody and harmony—or in both cases by rhythm and combination" (*Ib.*, pp. 2, 27, *paraphrased*).

"The importance of *symmetry* is so great that all combinations of forms, when symmetrically contrasted or repeated, can be made subservient to beauty" (*Ib.*, p. 13).

Before entering upon our discussion it may be well to add a few statements from other authorities. Mr. Hildebrand says (*Scandinavian Arts*, pp. 32, 89) that conventional form depends on "the taste of the race"—that "ornamentation depends on the fancy of the workman, or rather on the fancy of the people to which the workman belongs, to the demands of which he must be an obedient servant." Miss Stokes says (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 141) that "ornamental details may possess a quality which is called *feeling*;" that "decoration is beautiful only when found in the right place," and then "a noble reserve of power is felt to exist." Mr. William H. Holmes asserts (*Bureau of Ethnology*, iv. 272) that "from a remote period man has been able to appreciate

beauty." While Mr. Wornum observes (p. 17) that "to render the details of decoration as agreeable as possible, they must be kept purely subservient to beauty of effect."

It appears from all this that to attribute to a man an æsthetic sense, is only a fine way of saying that in certain particulars he knows what he likes; while the questions, why he likes it, and how he came to like it, remain not only unanswered but unnoticed, and we are compelled to ask not only these, but two other questions, namely, what is beauty, and what are necessities of the mind?

An African chief told Mr. Stanley that if he met him again he would kill him, for he hated to see his white face, his long yellow hair and his red eyes. The African preferred a woolly head and a black skin. This combination was "the taste of his race," "the fancy of his people," and it evidently possessed "a quality called feeling."

Purchas, speaking of the use of a labret by certain Mexicans, makes Peter Martyr say "that he doth not remember that he ever saw so filthy and ugly a sight, yet they think nothing more fine and comely under the circle of the moon."

It is abundantly clear that there is no such thing as abstract beauty. Speaking generally, "beauty" is a term indicative of choice, applied to those combinations of form, or of form and colour, that have been racially and individually associated with pleasure—with the delights of perfume, sex, food, shade, or protection.

A racial proclivity to certain ornamental details depends on two factors, heredity and education. Heredity may operate with a force and to an extent far beyond anything we are accustomed to suppose. The environment of an individual, what he sees for himself, and what he hears from his fellows, falls, as it were, upon a cerebral soil that many centuries have slowly prepared.

"Artificially hatched chickens," says Mr. L. Wright (*Practical Poultry Keeper*, p. 217), "begin to peck more readily at tiny morsels than at sop." Their preference is obviously an inherited and not an experimental one. "Even then there is sometimes a difficulty in teaching them to feed. This is best got over by tapping on the floor with the end of the finger, at the same time clucking like a hen."

An instinctive tendency can thus be awakened from a dormant condition by education. An inherited proclivity can be promptly stimulated into conscious performance by the action of the environment. Where there is no such proclivity education operates more tardily.

"The Egyptian fellah, who is present at the opening of one of those tombs which were constructed by his remote ancestors (*Perrot and Chipiez, Egypt*, ii. 293), at once recognises the animals represented and the meaning of the attitudes and grouping. But if a European drawing be shown to the same man, he will be hopelessly bewildered by the foreshortening, the perspective, and the play of light and shade. He will no longer be able to distinguish a bull from a horse."

It thus appears that not only are there violent disagreements as to what is beautiful, but that a certain education is required before unfamiliar art designs can be relished or understood. When, however, an inherited proclivity is reinforced by a corresponding educational environment, the result displays a masterful intensity. And there are two important elements of ornament for which we may well have an inherited craving, because they have been familiar to the senses from the earliest days of humanity—grace and symmetry. The graceful is as easily recognised and enjoyed by the eye as the smooth is by the hand, inasmuch as it involves what Professor Haughton calls "the merely animal instinct of least fatigue." There is less expenditure of muscular

force when the eye wanders over a flowing outline than when it is tortured by abrupt angularity, though angularity itself may give pleasure when the mind is led to expect it.

But if the whole ancestry of mankind have always enjoyed the smooth as opposed to the rough, and, other things equal, have delighted in lines of least resistance to the ocular muscles, another remote experience has been quite as constant. What is called symmetry, or similar parts contrasted as right and left, has been ever present to the eye in all animal and vegetable forms, and the mind's need of symmetry is founded upon this invariable environment. As far as concerns ornament, we may conclude that beauty is the correlative of taste, and that taste is the expression of choice in form, or in form and colour, while choice varies in accordance with what the individual or the race, or both, have been most familiar with. Inasmuch, then, as grace and symmetry have been a constant and inseparable part of the human environment, they are a necessity of the mind, an inherited mental expectancy which must be satisfied in any ornament that gives pleasure, unless the neglect of either be demanded in order to satisfy some other expectancy more imperious and exacting.

What has been called the "perfect analogy of ornament to music" is not immediately obvious. Mr. Wornum tells us that the essentials of ornament are repetition and contrast, series being merely a form of repetition. Now, repetition, in music, is founded on the nature of things. A sound, such as the cry of an animal, dies away unless it is repeated. It dies away at a certain rate, and if it is to be sustained it must be repeated at certain intervals. All animal sounds are due to muscular effort and are necessarily rhythmical. The throb of the heart, the murmur of respiration, the fall of the foot, the syncopation of the dance, the cadence of galloping hoofs—ancestral facts like these are the unchange-

able basis of repetition for musical time. And contrast must soon have come in. The simple cries that animals first made must soon have become differentiated, for the purpose of conveying a varied information. But upon what basic principle of human nature rests the "need" of repetition and contrast in ornament? If a perfect contrast of form is to be seen in the symmetry of organic beings, then this, having been ever present to the eye, all through man's past history, accounts for our expectancy with regard to contrast in ornament. On what is grounded our "need" concerning repetition? A general survey of nature impresses the mind with irregularity and variety. Cloud and mountain, sea and stream, tree masses and flower groups present no such repetition of detail as we find to be essential in decoration, whilst the rhythmic elements of floral structure appear late in the evolution of true ornament. Where shall we look for its beginning? The earliest art of Egypt or Assyria is not early enough, and the ornament of modern savages is too ancient. That is, in neither case can we reach the incipience of manufacture, and before a thing can be decorated it must be made. With respect to savage art, as regards, for example, the carved work of the South Sea Islanders, there are two difficulties. First, its antecedents are absolutely lost, and next, the origin of the people is unknown. From what continent came they? Did their ancestors inhabit warm lands like their own and practise textile arts, or did they live in a cold climate and clothe themselves with the skins of beasts slain in mortal combat? In fine, are they a stationary, or are they a degrading race? In one regard, however, their ornament is valuable; its type is simple. It has not been affected by timbering, by masonry, or by metallurgy. Nevertheless, the type, having endured for a great length of time, has necessarily undergone many of those changes which are due to the perpetual copying of a copy.

II.—Origin and Growth of the Skeuomorph.

There can be no beginning of ornament till the mind has come to demand it; and before a thing can be decorated, it must be made. But the forms of ornament demonstrably due to structure require a name. If those taken from animals are called zoomorphs, and those from plants phyllomorphs, it will be convenient to call those derived from structure, skeuomorphs, from σκεύη, tackle, tools, vessels, equipment, dress.

As soon as man began to make things, to fasten a handle to a stone implement, to construct a wattled roof, to weave a mat, skeuomorphs became an inseparable part of his existence, grew, as it were, with the growth of his brain, and ultimately occasioned a mental craving or expectancy.

One of the earliest handicrafts, then, was to fasten *two things* together. All mankind were once engaged in thong-work (rt. THWANG, *to constrain*), or bindings with hide, tendon, or vegetable fibre. How this was first done, we are quite able to realise from a knowledge of the pure necessities of the case; and our judgment is confirmed by such primitive work as that of the stone axe of Montezuma II. (plate i., fig. 1) in the Ambras Museum, at Vienna (*Evans, Bronze Implements*, p. 148); or as that of the ancient Egyptian hatchet, figured by Maspero (*Archæology of Egypt*, p. 320), which consists of a bronze celt fixed in a cleft of its handle of cedar-wood, and held in place by a plaiting of gold wire; or as that of the savages of to-day.

A corresponding expectancy grew up.

We see by all early workmanship that no vessel or implement could satisfy "taste" that was without the simple device of thong-work. Ornament had arisen, and in the form of a skeuomorph. It can be seen throughout Egyptian architecture often symmetrically disposed (plate i., fig. 7), on Assyrian utensils (plate i., fig. 6), on the bronze weapons of

Europe (plate i., figs. 2, 3, 4), and on the metallic vases of the Lake-dwellers (plate i., fig. 5). The eye had been so trained to the sight of repetition in the regular twistings of the thong and the recurrent turns of the ligature, that when, on any object, this was not made apparent, the mind experienced a sense of loss (plate i., figs. 8, 9).

The next thing done was the fastening of *many things* together, as in wattle-work [rt. WA, *to bind*], in which the things fastened were similar, the twigs or boughs of a tree. Structures of this kind were doubtless made everywhere, and have long ago perished from sight. But Dr. Keller, in his researches (*Lake Dwellings*, p. 565, plate 144, fig. 16) at Ebersberg, discovered fragments of clay that formed the walls of ancient huts, "smooth on one side, and marked, on the other, with deep depressions of wattle-work" (plate ii., fig. 1). The pattern impressed on the clay is one of repeated straight lines crossed by a contrasted series of curved ones.

Then came the fastening together of things of different kinds—a sort of basketry—as that of bast, the fibre of the lime tree, intertwisted among a series of willow rods (plate ii., fig. 2), found by Dr. Keller in the Lake of Robenhausen (*Keller*, p. 507, plate 134, fig. 5), "the strips running concentrically in such a way that both together form a structure like that called 'herring-bone.'"

From this it was an easy step to "matting," and plaiting, and weaving. The simple fabrics found carbonised in the Lake of Robenhausen give examples of both rectilinear and curvilinear effects (*Keller*, plates 134, 2; 136, 4; 135, 3), but all inseparably associated with the strictest repetition as a necessary element of suitable construction. When straight, the intersections are at regular intervals (plate ii., fig. 3); when curved, the curves flow in a uniform direction (plate ii., figs. 4, 5).

After the making of plane surfaces—the wall, the mat, the rug—hollow surfaces were made, baskets and pottery. And just as "expectancy" caused the transfer of thong-work from the flint axe, where it was functional, to the bronze celt, where it was skeuomorphic, it carried the chevrons and cruciforms of basketry to the decoration of earthen vessels.

An early type of basket is seen in the Roman corbula (plate ii., fig. 6), in which the osier rods are placed rectangularly; another, in an ivory plaque from Boulak (plate ii., fig. 7), in which there is a chevron arrangement. The latter is the more common skeuomorph on early Celtic pottery, but the rectangular type often occurs, and it may be seen on a Danish food-vessel of the Stone age (plate ii., fig. 8).

A basket bottom, with a cruciform direction of fibres, on strictly structural principles, is seen in a fragment from the marlpits of Terramara (plate ii., fig. 9); and a piece of pottery from the same deposit is ornamented with a corresponding skeuomorph (plate ii., fig. 10).

But the perpetual concentration of attention, the strain of hand and eye and brain upon the forms of wattle-work and basketry produced an important decorative result. The mind acquired an expectancy of a special mode of curved repetitions. This particular skeuomorph is composed of a band that winds in and out among a row of rods or discs (plate iii., fig. A). The device underwent a change in opposite directions. The discs grew, or they vanished. In the latter case, the band left by itself is the meander, and may be called a curvilinear zigzag. In the former case, the discs often became the seat of phyllomorphic invasion, and were transformed into leaves or flowers.

Examples may be seen on the margin of a bronze shield from Cyprus (plate iii., fig. 2); on a vessel of terra-cotta from the third sepulchre of Mycenæ (plate iii., fig. 8); and

on an enamelled Roman vase found on Bartlow Hill (plate iii., fig. 5); whilst a twin-form, which presents both contrast and repetition, occurs on another bronze shield from the Mediterranean (plate iii., fig. 1), and is the basis of the Assyrian ornament and its Greek variant called the guilloche (plate iii., figs. 4, 3).

A different skeuomorph is derived from a different method of basketry, in which a single fibre is turned round a row of osier-sticks, so as to produce a wave repetition (plate iii., fig. B), as may be seen on the pottery of the ancient Pueblos (plate iii., fig. 6). When these discs disappear, the fibre by itself resembles the Vitruvian scroll, and may be called a curvilinear fret (plate iii., fig. B).

Whenever the pattern has a stepped form, as on many of the Pueblo vases (plate iii., fig. 7), it indicates that the methods of textile manufacture had already influenced the eye and mind of the race before the invention or introduction of pottery.

But the strangest skeuomorph of all was that common to the early inhabitants of northern Europe. They were adepts in basketry, and in wattlework for walls and ramparts. Moreover the pliant bark of the birch was ever ready to the hand for a thousand purposes of life. The Norwegian still makes hinges for gates and loops for the oar out of the entwisted fibre. The old Norsemen spoke of the *stjórn-viðr*, or rudder withy, for the earliest rudder was an oar; and leather thongs were also used to keep the oar against the thole-pin. The skeuomorph consists of a withy wound upon itself (plate vii., fig. 11). This device, wrongly called a rope-pattern, gained such ascendency over the northern mind that it was employed sometimes as a symbol (plate vii., fig. 12), like the reefing knot on Roman altars (plate vii., fig. 13). It was used by the ancient Hittites (plate iv., fig. 1); and if, as Professor Sayce thinks, the turned-up toes of their boots

indicate that they came from the snow-clad ranges of the Taurus, the climate of their land of origin had much resemblance to that of northern Europe.

It is evident that the withy skeuomorph (plate iv., figs. 2, 3, 4), the Scandinavian worm-knot, established itself as a necessity of the mind before those men who were dominated by it had discarded a covering of skins for one of cloth; for its type is antagonistic to the regular intersections and the stepped designs of textile fabrics, and no trace of these appears on their early pottery.

When weaving was at last introduced, so as to be practised by these people, it was probably along with the introduction of metals. But for a while the use of metal only increased the number of twisted things. The words wire, wicker, and withy are all from the root WI, *to plait*, and the Teutonic WÎRA means filigree, an ornament of twisted filaments of metal; and as the simplest manner of terminating a wire is to coil its end, the earliest filigree is preponderantly spiral (plate iv., figs. 5, 6, 7). Thus was the way prepared for the advent of the serpent zoomorph, so much affected by Teutons and Scandinavians.

From twisting into structure the bark and boughs of a tree, it was an advance to deal with the stems and trunks. The art of "fascining," as it may be called, was doubtless general, though few traces of it remain, since wood-work rapidly perishes by decay and is easily destroyed by fire. Some good examples have been preserved in the Swiss lakes, as in that of Niederwyl (plate iv., fig. 8); and the ornamental "taste" or expectancy generated by this handicraft is not only found in Switzerland, as witnessed by the inside of an earthen vessel from Ueberlingen See (plate iv., fig. 9), and by a sandstone crescent from Ebersberg (plate iv., fig. 10), but meets the eye on stones from Hadrian's Wall in our own country (plate iv., fig. 11).

"Timbering," or the use of tree trunks in the construction of dwellings, was an art practised for so long a time that it was certain to give origin to skeuomorphic motives. We can restore the form of these early buildings partly from ancient mural paintings and partly from the rock tombs of Asia Minor. The latter are especially interesting. At Antiphellus (plate v., fig. 1) the timbering, to every detail of mortise and tenon, is reproduced *in stone* by a commanding expectancy. The stems of trees, laid horizontally to cover the chamber, are imitated in masonry. They project beyond the wall, and show their ends, as a row of circular sections, in the middle of the entablature. The tree trunk at each extremity of the row has been squared, and is, consequently, larger than the rest. Sometimes all the trunks are squared, as may be seen at Xanthus (plate v., fig. 2); and we witness the origin of the famous Greek ornament called "guttæ." Skeuomorphs of timbering were much affected by the Normans, as in their various billet patterns; whilst their capitals often show sections, not alone of branches springing from a tree trunk, but of the enveloping bark also (plate i., fig. b). Another rock tomb at Antiphellus (plate v., fig. 3) shows a row of squared trunks projecting beyond *the side* of the building, as would be a natural arrangement in any wooden house that had a length greater than its width. Here, too, are external indications of an interior story. They are indications only, for the story does not exist. The device is a skeuomorph, because it is functionless. But we understand the origin of our "string-course," and we recognise one of many reasons, in the ancestral training of the eye of our race, why the sight of a large unbroken surface produces in the mind a sense of disappointment, a feeling of unsatisfied expectancy, the anguish that Hood sings—

> A wall so blank
> That my shadow I thank
> For sometimes falling there!

C. Assyria, i. 266), "right and left of the door-ways I have caused winged-bulls to be set up, to repulse the wicked. They are the guardians of my royal promenades."

The hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians was largely composed of animal forms, and their mythology needed a zoomorphic symbolism. But though the walls and columns of their temples were covered with corporeal shapes of graphic or sacred import, graphic or sacred they continued to the end. And though they underwent inevitable conventionalisation, and even entered into decoration to the extent of a greatly multiplied repetition for the purpose of relieving blank surfaces, yet they never furnished any strictly ornamental motive. By mere lapse of time, however, graphic signs lose their definiteness, and mythological symbols their sanctity, and this degradation proceeds the more rapidly when an old religion or an old scriptograph has been superseded by a new one.

Presentments of bodily shape, though no longer significant, are yet "looked for," they are demanded by expectancy; but as soon as they touch the true basis of ornament, the skeuomorph begins to destroy them. For if the animal form is to enter into combination with pre-existent structure-forms, how is this to be accomplished? By taking advantage of a fanciful resemblance between the shape of a cow, for example, and that prescribed for a vessel by its function; by putting a head for the spout and a tail for the handle? But this would be art, rather than ornament, and would possess no quality of repetition. And what parts of an animal could be required by expectancy for serial treatment?

A flower or a leaf by itself is seen often enough; it has an aspect of completeness, and it may become the subject of expectancy; but a hand by itself, or a foot, is seen very seldom. And yet an artificer, not free, perhaps, from mythological conceptions, would sometimes endow a vessel with

eyes or terminate with talons the legs of a tripod. But it is the head of a living thing—asp or ox or man—that chiefly arrests attention; of all the parts of a dismembered body it is the head that provides the most signal trophy and that most comes to be looked for by the expectant mind. Besides, the head could be used emblematically, not only alone, as we see on a thousand Roman altars; it could be indefinitely repeated without absurdity, as we see in the carved skulls of the ox (?) alternated with garlands, that occupy the whole frieze of the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, Capo di Bove, the "stern round tower of other days" (*Childe Harold*, iv. 99); or in the skulls of the ram, similarly treated, on the circular temple of Vesta at Tivoli; or in the heads, whether likeness or symbol, human or bestial, that gaze from Norman corbels. The realism of all these representations, however, and the fact that their existence is independent of their situation, make them works of art rather than of ornament; though by virtue of "repetition and series" they may claim to have made a temporary entrance into the ornamental domain. That such attempts were universal only serves to show how profound and insuperable the difficulty is. The animal form cannot conjoin itself with the skeuomorph. It essays to do so, but it fails. At the first contact it is mutilated, and in the last result it is destroyed. Nevertheless a trace remains. Though the victory of the skeuomorph is everywhere achieved, though the likeness of corporeal shape is lost, a phantom zoomorph haunts the ornamental field.

The distortion is wrought, for each epoch and each country, by the dominant skeuomorph. The metamorphosis can be followed on Samian vases (plate vi., fig. 1), on the swords of Gaul (fig. 2), on Pompeian walls (fig. 3), on the fictile ware of ancient Mexico (fig. 4), and on the gold ornaments of Tuscany (fig. 5). In a way that reminds

one of mimicry in organic evolution, the animals put forth flamboyant processes, and assume, after many intermediate changes, *the scroll*, or spiral of contrast. In Greece and Italy this typical zoomorph usually appeared in the symmetrical or bilateral form, often accompanied for a time by such animal adjuncts as a head or plumage (plate vi., fig. 6).

Old bench-ends of English churches, notably those in Cornwall, are frequently surmounted by a crouching quadruped, which at a later period is converted into a simple scroll, like that which adorned the old pews in Ormskirk Church (plate vi., fig. 7).

An ancient silver plate (plate vi., fig. 8), found in a tumulus at Largo, Fifeshire, is decorated with the distorted fore-half of a hound-like animal. The transformation is advanced to flamboyant curves in the zoomorph of the Dunnichen Stone (plate vi., fig. 9); but the head and ear and legs can still be distinguished.

The metamorphosis of the human form itself can be traced through similar stages. They are well exemplified on some New Zealand clubs, kindly lent by Mr. Charles Heape (plate vi., figs. 10, 11, 12). Though the eye tends to remain, as a concentric ring, and the protruded tongue persists, as a curious ovoid, the limbs are changed into a multitude of synclinal curves easily to be distinguished from pre-existent structure-forms. Zoomorphic curves are also seen on a paddle from the Hervey Islands (plate vi., fig. 13), in spite of modifications imposed by the nature of the material and of the cutting implement.

But in the north of Europe it was the withy-band by which animals were strangled (plate vii., fig. 1). Mr. Hildebrand endeavours to show (*Scand. Arts*, p. 50) that the so-called Scandinavian sun-snake was produced by the breaking down into curves of the figure of a lion rampant, copied by a succession of artificers all ignorant of the leonine presence. But in the

first place, the Norse Wurm is found long ago in pre-historic rock-sculptures. In the next place, the serpent of the north was symbolic of the sea and not of the sun. And then, it was not alone the unfamiliar lion that broke up into serpentine forms; the skeuomorph assailed the horse, as on a slab, with Runic inscriptions, found in London (*Arch. Jour.*, x. 82); the stag, as on King Gorm's stone, in Denmark (plate vii., fig. 2); the hound, as on the Dunnichen stone (plate vi., fig. 9); the wolf, as on a cross at Gosforth (plate vii., fig. 3); other nameless creatures, as that on an incised stone at Kirkmichael (plate vii., fig. 5); or that on another stone in the Isle of Man (plate vii., fig. 1); the human form itself, as on an illuminated page of the Gospel of Mac Regol (plate vii., fig. 4); and the walrus, as in rock-sculptures in Scotland (plate vii., figs. 6, 7).

The walrus, though doubtless invested with fabulous attributes, was well known and highly esteemed both for its hide, from which ship-ropes were made (plate iv., fig. 4), and for its tusks, which were a source of ivory. "Swiðost he fór ðyder," says the Orosian story (I. *Orosius* i. 14), "forðæm *hors-hwælum*, forðæm hi habbað swyðe æþele bán on hyra toþum, & hyra hýd bið swiðe gód to sciprapum"—"He went thither chiefly for walruses because they have ivory tusks (noble bone in their teeth) and their skin is very good for ships' ropes."

And, lastly, when Anglo-Saxons had almost forgotten Midgarth's Orm, and the ancient Egyptian snake-symbol, as old as the Rameside period, had been introduced as a new design (plate vii., fig. 8), this itself, as if to complete the argument against Mr. Hildebrand, fell a prey to the dominant skeuomorph, and was doubled and entangled in obedience to the overmastering expectancy of the day (plate vii., figs. 9 and 10).

It must be clear that such transformations as these were

due to something more than the successive copying of a copy by ignorant and slovenly artificers, as in those degenerate changes wrought by Gaulish imitators of the stater of Philip of Macedon. In that case the original coin was not before them; they had no artistic impulse or intention; their only object was to fabricate passable pieces of money. But the men whose "taste" is disclosed by the work we have just considered, were swayed by an influence they could not have understood.

> *Their* birth was but a sleep and a forgetting;
> The soul that rose within them, *their* life's star
> Had elsewhere had its setting,
> And travelled from afar.

The expectancy that controlled them they inherited. The withy-band had wrapped itself round all their conceptions. But the result was enrichment and not degradation, and the curious designs their art produced show us the only portal through which the animal form can enter into ornament, by resolving itself, namely, into the curves and scrolls of symmetrical repetition.

Many pauses took place ere the process was completed. Now one part of the body was surrendered to the skeuomorph and anon another. Conventionalisation established a temporary truce, but the war of structure against nature broke out afresh, and the grotesque appeared. We look upon the death-grasp of a writhing quadruped; the knotted convolutions of a serpent; the spectral gleam of a vanishing face. And then, when all was over, when the battle on the ornamental field was lost and won, nothing was left but a zoomorph of contrasted curves and symmetrical scrolls (plate vi., fig. 6).

IV.—Advent of the Phyllomorph: the Skeuomorph sustains it.

It is a frequent matter of observation that no ornament "looks finished" without a rim, fringe, or cornice. The mind

requires it. This expectancy is due to the fact that nothing could ever have been securely finished without some terminal device of structure—a special arrangement of wattlework at the edge of a basket, a row of knotted ends along the margin of a mat, stronger timbering at the corners of a building, a line of pegged bands or weighted ropes along the eaves of a roof. This necessity of the mind was satisfied even on the base of ancient scarabs, where a mythological work of art is surrounded by an ornamental border, an archaic skeuomorph, generally a rope or billet pattern (*P. and C. Phœnicia*, ii. 254-7).

Two remarkable "motives" have been the outcome of this psychological requirement—the panel, which is often no more than an unornamented frame enclosing an unornamented surface, but which, nevertheless, as in all Italian architecture, can be used as a decoration; and the anthemion, which, hitherto regarded as a purely phyllomorphic design, I shall endeavour to prove had for its origin an Eastern skeuomorph.

It is a striking fact in the evolution of ornament that the appearance of phyllomorphs is late. It is hardly too much to say that they cannot be found at all in the art of the modern savage. Yet he is so skilful a workman that one is compelled to believe that a knowledge of the mechanism of structure must have led him to a recognition of the mechanism of nature. But if any need of natural forms arose in his mind, an expectancy of leaf and flower, it was satisfied by Nature herself—leaf and flower surrounded him.

Again, early Scandinavian ornament is entirely destitute of "motives" drawn from the vegetable kingdom. But, again, the Teuton and Scandinavian of ancient times never gathered themselves within the walls of cities; they lived in the forest; their phyllomorphic wants were satisfied. The Lake-dwellers, too, probably roamed the mainland in

the daytime when not beset by foes. But in some degree no doubt life in a pile-structure was secluded, and here are dawnings of the phyllomorph.

The Egyptians, on the other hand, were children of the desert, and immured themselves within lofty walls. Nevertheless, their inherited expectancy was not to be balked by desert or wall. They ministered to this want by planting trees in their courts and by making gardens in their fortresses. Their affection for the lotus had perhaps a symbolic beginning. A type of that restoration of life for which they toiled with constant endeavour, it closes its petals at sunset only to open them again with returning day. And the papyrus was endeared to them by its many serviceable qualities. But if these beloved symbols crept gradually into the position of ornamental motives, it was by grafting themselves on the skeuomorph like the mistletoe on the oak; by springing, for example, in parasitic fashion from the base of a column and by curving round its capital.

But Assyria it was that saw the most interesting phyllomorphic evolution. The hot climate of that country had led to the use of pavilions, which were roofed with awnings of textile material. The more costly fabrics were margined with fringes, and we see them on the tunics of gods and kings. The tassels are usually, as regards form, in simple repetition (plate viii., fig. 1), but where colour is introduced, they occur in alternate series of red and blue (plate viii., fig. 5). The reason for this is in structural method, because in the simplest kind of mats of two colours the tassels necessarily alternate (plate viii., figs. A, B). And the expectancy thus originated is reinforced by the need of symmetry, for whatever member of an alternate series is regarded as central, the arrangement on each side of it is symmetrical.

But if any such fabric is to be used for an awning, the

fringe must be weighted by the addition, let us suppose, of stone or of metal to each tassel, or to alternate tassels. A race of people advanced in culture, in whom a phyllomorphic need was asserting itself, who, like the Egyptians, were planting trees in every available part of their enclosures (plate viii., fig. 3), would detect and increase by imitation any resemblance between the drooping fringe and the pendant flower, either in simple repetition, or when an alternation in the size of the weighted tassel had already been established, in an alternate series of blossom and bud (plate viii., figs. 2, 6, 7).

But this charming phyllomorph, necessarily in its origin always pendant, was destined to become erect. And the transformation was accomplished in the following way: Fringed mats were placed on the floor of the Assyrian dwelling, and their tassels extended all round the border. We see them in this disposition actually reproduced by the sculptor on stone door-sills (plate viii., fig. 8). Similar rugs were used as curtains to close the entrance, and, above all, *they were painted on the walls* (plate viii., fig. 4). Now, as we regard a mat, whether it be stretched on the floor or painted on a wall, while the nearer tassels are pendant, those of the further margin appear erect.

Sometimes the body of the rug vanished, and we find only the upper and lower fringe, the erect and the pendant, combined in a single ornamental motive (plate viii., fig. 9). Sometimes there is a simple repetition of a flower, and sometimes there is alternation of bud and blossom. Now, in nature, buds are as common as blossoms, and flowers are more often erect than pendant; so that a natural expectancy favoured the course of this particular evolution, until, the intermediate forms having largely disappeared, the Anthemion was left in all its simplicity and grace (plate viii., fig. 10).

To a discussion of this device, Dr. Birdwood, in his treatise on "Indian Art," devotes a long chapter, without having apparently the slightest notion of its real meaning. But he makes this interesting observation, that "the knop and flower pattern is demonstrated by the curved line which unites the base of the knop with the base of the flower, and which is found surviving in ornaments derived from this pattern when almost every other trace of it has disappeared." This account is not altogether accurate, since the curved line of junction is absent in many of the collar decorations on Egyptian mummy-cases, and in a well-marked knop and flower from Thebes (plate viii., fig. 12). Such exceptions, however, are rare, for the curved line is part of the original fabric. It can be seen supporting the fringe-pendants, of alternate size, that weigh down the awning of Assyrian tents (plate viii., fig. 7); *it is the skeuomorphic basis on which the floral parasite grows.*

Another exceptional anthemion is composed of a series of three elements, one kind of flower or palmette, and two kinds of knops (plate viii., fig. 9). That this design was less popular than the strictly alternate one, is probably due to the fact that it is unsymmetrical when the flower, its principal member, is regarded as central. In truth the anthemion is dependent upon the original source of its life; without a structural support it must perish. Alternation upon a looped base is therefore the condition of its permanent existence.

The Greeks were caught by the beauty of this ornamental device—by this doubly-satisfied expectancy—by the skeuomorph and the phyllomorph harmoniously blended. With eyes already prepared for it by the egg-and-tongue design on their own entablature (plate v., fig. 5), they naturally chose the erect presentment of the anthemion; while, on the other hand, the pendant or pavilion form, the first to appear

on ancient Etruscan vases, readily transferred itself to Sindh pottery (plate viii., fig. 11).

The advent of the phyllomorph is well illustrated by the history of the anthemion. The eye does not readily perceive the fitness of floral forms for ornamental purposes until educated by the development of similar forms in construction. When the skeuomorph has reached this critical point, especially among a people walled out from nature,

> When the eye in vain is seeking
> Some green leaf to rest upon,

there flashes into the mind a recognition of resemblance. Moreover, the process is furthered by the ease with which floral members can be isolated. It is not necessary to take the whole stock, root and stem and branch; the flower or leaf alone is enough. *Afterwards, phyllomorphic motives may be deliberately chosen.* A love for the mechanism of structure produces an interest in the mechanism of nature—dichotomy, the imbrex, the whorl. But whatever the motives are, they enter the ornamental field on the shoulders of the skeuomorph, parasites only and for ever. And if the under-lying structure-form vanishes for a moment, in a wave of impulse or fashion, it is but to reappear with all the stateliness and strength of its early youth.

V.—Transfer and its Consequences.

In the beginning every constructional device was necessarily in keeping both with function and with material. But in process of time, when these devices had established themselves in the mind as definite expectancies, it became possible to detach them, as isolated skeuomorphs, from their place of origin, and to transplant them to another field, with which they were not always entirely consistent.

The least degree of transfer is that from one part to another of the same structure; as when the guttæ of the Greek

entablature, which are congruous enough outside a building, under the roof, are transferred to an inside cornice, where, though they represent construction, they are structurally impossible. Nevertheless, they are ornamental, because they satisfy an expectancy. The incongruity is greater, though the expectant mind may still be pleased, when the beam-ends and the tie-downs of a roof are transplanted to a bronze celt (plate i., figs. 10, 11) or to a Samian vase (plate v., fig. 6).

The first consequence of transfer is a modification of the skeuomorph itself, due in part to the new material on which the decoration is imposed, and in part to the kind of tool by which the work is accomplished. And such changes, following lines of least resistance, result in conventionalisation.

Thus, the loops of a fringe, when imitated in alabaster, become rectilinear (plate viii., fig. 1); the meander of basketry is changed into zigzag by the hand of the mason (plate i., fig. a), or converted by the metal-worker into the spirals of filigree; the socket of timbering, in which stood the tree stem that supported the roof, grows into the astragal of stone-carpentry; and the interlacements of a textile fabric, when dealt with by the painter's brush (plate iv., figs. 14 and 15), are developed into a key-pattern or a fret.

It is equally the consequence of transfer that angular outlines, applied to the skin, as in tattooing, tend to become round; and that rounded outlines, copied in woven fabrics, are compelled to assume a stepped form, and tend to become angular (plate iv., figs. 12, 13). Indeed, it has been well said that "the textile arts are the greatest agents of convention." And especially is this the case when, as sometimes happened, they preceded the art of the potter. For the repeated curve or the contrasted coil of basketry, already transferred to textiles, had become a zigzag or a

fret; and when these, in turn, were applied to pottery or to masonry, they would appear as entirely angular designs.

The effect of the tool is best seen in savage ornamentation, where decorative motives have been transferred to clubs and paddles. The limited power of the stone implement, no less than the hardness and grain of the wood, greatly modifies the skeuomorphs of binding, of wattle-work, and of weaving, and controls also, in large measure, the way in which the tribal zoomorph ultimately breaks up.

Another consequence of transfer is that combination becomes possible. Greek guttæ, the erect tassel, and the meander of basketry may all be associated in the production of a common ornamental effect; whilst a frequent element in compound decoration is the phyllomorph, by virtue of its parasitic nature. But any introduction of a new feature into a pre-existing combination occasions a "correlated variation," a change in each of the elements of the old group, whether they are natural or structural.

Lastly, transfer makes possible the fusion of ornamental motives. Each osier-stick, for example, each button round which the basket fibre is coiled, when transferred to pottery, may assume the form of a cross, a star, a flower; or of a leaf, a frond, a feather (plate iii., figs. 7, 5, 8), which tend to become fused or indistinguishable.

VI.—Development and Decay.

Ornament may grow, and it may decline. Its development, like all evolution, is due to a law of selection. The artificer, although he is influenced by an inherited expectancy, and by the constant environment of his life, is nevertheless controlled by the taste of those for whom he works. *They* require what they have been accustomed to see; they are pleased by seeing the accustomed thing well presented, or better presented than usual—the straightness of lines that

ought to be rectilinear, the roundness of intended curves; enlargement or diminution, within the limits of utility; the complex more complicated, the simple more severe; the abruptness of the zigzag increased, the flowing outline more ocularly smooth, symmetry made absolute.

But besides all this, the workman has to satisfy a craving for distinction. As soon as things were manufactured for sale or barter, or to be worn as marks of wealth or power, competition arose, and the selective law began to operate in furtherance of *variety* in ornamental transfer and combination.

Concerning the degradation of ornament it may be noticed that the people among whom it befals, are unconscious of it. It results, in the first place, from a weakened expectancy. The mental image of the skeuomorph, if unrenewed by constructional handicraft and unstimulated by utility, becomes increasingly fainter, the unrefreshed memory of a memory, until, at last, the requirement of taste may be satisfied by a few meaningless chevrons or spirals. But there must also be a lessened competition, due to poverty on the part of the buyer, to his want of ambition, or to his seclusion from the world's markets and artificers.

Zoomorphs degrade in another way. They took their place in the expectant mind by virtue of some symbolic or mythological meaning; and when this was lost, animal forms were reproduced by the artificer with less attention to detail, and only to satisfy a vague desire for something mystical or auspicious. If they are not associated with the true basis of ornament, so as to pass through stages of development into symmetrical scrolls, they end in a mere jumble of *membra disjecta*, without repetition, without balance, and without structure.

VII.—CORRELATION.

We are now in a position to correlate the modern account of ornament with its archæology. If "ornament consists,"

not in the unrestricted and infinite variety of nature, but, as we are told it does, "in repetition and series," the reason is that from the dawn of humanity our race has been trained to the perception of constructional forms with an attention so close and constant that a paramount mental requirement has arisen for them, though they may now subserve no function of utility. And they possess "the quality which is called feeling," because the mind is moved by a half-conscious recognition of a utility in which they originated. If "ornament is the accessory to and not the substitute of the useful, and can have no independent existence" (Wornum, p. 9), the reason is that all primary decorations consist of the transfer of ancient constructional devices into the field of inutility. The skeuomorph of thong-work, for example, when carved in stone or cast in bronze, has been transferred from a field where it was both useful and needful to one where it performs no practical function, and where it exists only to satisfy a mental demand; whereas, "any object that is naturally treated" (*Ib.*, p. 15), like the head of an animal, can exist independently of its setting, and, though the setting itself may be ornamental, the head is a work of fine art.

If "symmetry is so important that there is no combination of forms whatever that when symmetrically contrasted cannot be made subservient to beauty" (*Ib.*, p. 13), the reason is that the sight of parts contrasted, as right and left, having been one of the oldest experiences of mankind, has become one of the most exacting of our psychical needs.

If "symbols must be made subject to the ruling principles of ornament, or the design is a mere crudity of art" (*Ib.*, p. 7), the reason is that an emblem can be dealt with as an ornament only in "repetition and series," and therefore only when it has lost much of its original significance. When an ideograph first appears—the fylfot, for example, which represents divine energy—it stands alone, as befits a sacred

symbol;* and it is long afterwards, when it has scarcely an auspicious meaning left, that the device is met with in simple repetition or in serial treatment with other designs.† The concentric circle, too, symbolic of the solar divinity, has a similar history, though the flood in which, at the time of its lessened sanctity, it poured itself over the vases and weapons of early Europe, was due in great part to the discovery that the device could be readily wrought by a pair of compasses or the prongs of a fork. Still, in every case, structure-forms, with their "repetition and series," are the eternal basis whereon the symbol may be multiplied, the phyllomorph engrafted, and the transfiguration of the zoomorph accomplished.

And, lastly, if we take the following statements of Mr. Wornum: "In the great historic style called Greek, art becomes for the first time purely æsthetic (*Wornum*, p. 50). It is to the substitution of the æsthetic principle in the place of the symbolic that we have this new development (*Ib.*, p. 52). Its characteristic features are the echinus, the Vitruvian scroll, the fret, the zigzag, the anthemion, and the astragal" (*Ib.*, pp. 59, 60, 61): any truth in these remarks is due to the fact that every one of the features named is a skeuomorph, just as much so as each of the simpler ones that preceded them in the history of civilisation; and their presentment in such a form as to satisfy a craving expectancy is what Mr. Wornum calls an "appeal to the æsthetic sense" (*Ib.*, p. 1).

"Without any disparagement to architects," cried Mr. Magniac, in his inaugural address (*Arch. Journal*, xxxviii. 417) to the Archæological Institute, in 1881, "I think they have still got to have a new birth. We want to have a

* Chronological Etruscan Museum, Villa Giulio, Rome.

† *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 2.

national architecture, such as shall have the stamp of individuality and originality upon it."

It may be that in the distant future, when iron has broken from the bondage of stone, though stone is still enthralled by wood, in the happy days when there will always be a full moon, Mr. Magniac's aspirations will be attained, and he will escape from the gable and the arcade. Meanwhile, to create an original style of architecture, or to invent another system of ornament, is as promising a task as to devise a new scheme of religion. Both the ornament and the religion of to-day satisfy imperious needs of our common nature. The need arises in the one case from all that men have ever made in this life of ceaseless toil; in the other case it springs from all that men have ever believed concerning things that are invisible. The celestial hierarchy, the banqueting hall of heaven, the dark abode of a loathly race, are, like the panel, the anthemion, and the scroll, our heritage and our destiny.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.—SKEUOMORPHS OF BINDING.

Fig. 1. Stone axe of Montezuma II., Ambras Museum, Vienna (*Evans' Bronze Implements*, p. 148).
,, 2. Bronze spear-head, Ireland (*Evans*, p. 320).
,, 3. Ditto ditto (*Evans*, p. 326).
,, 4. Bronze socketed celt, Ireland (*Evans*, p. 140).
,, 5. Bronze vessel, Lake of Bourget (*Keller*, plate 159, fig. 1).
,, 6. Ebony comb, Assyria (*Perrot and Chipiez*, ii. 350).
,, 7. Sculptured stone cornice, Egypt (*Perrot and Chipiez*, ii. 361).
,, 8. Perforated bone needle, Tumulus, Holyhead (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxiii. 94).
,, 9. Back of bronze knife, Estavayer (*Keller*, plate 96, fig. 12).
,, 10. Bronze celt, Bury St. Edmunds (*Evans*, p. 122).
,, 11. Ditto, Kingston (*Evans*, p. 125).
,, a. "Angular meander," Wolvesey Castle, Winchester, *temp.* Stephen (*Archæologia*, xvi, 361).

Fig. b. "Sections of branches" or billet-ends, Peterborough Cathedral (*Arch.*, xii. 168).

,, c. Hut-urn, Etruscan, Monte Albano (*Museo Kircheriano, Rome*).

,, d. }
,, e. } Skeuomorphs of the gable (*Household furniture*).
,, f. }

PLATE II.—SKEUOMORPHS OF WATTLEWORK.

Fig. 1. Impression on clay, Ebersberg (*Keller*, plate 144, fig. 16).

,, 2. Bast twisted among willow rods, Robenhausen (*Keller*, plate 134, fig. 5).

,, 3. Mat of bast, Robenhausen (*Keller*, plate 134, fig. 2).

,, 4. Fabric of flax, Robenhausen (*Keller*, plate 136, fig. 4).

,, 5. Fabric of bast, Robenhausen (*Keller*, plate 135, fig. 3).

,, 6. Corbula, Italy (*Smith's Roman Antiq.*, p. 285).

,, 7. Basket on ivory plaque, Boulak (*Egypt, P. and C.*, ii. 388).

,, 8. Earthenware food-vessel, Stone Age, Denmark (*Danish Arts, Worsaae*, p. 36).

,, 9. Bottom of a basket, Terramara (*Keller*, plate 116, fig. 11).

,, 10. Fragment of pottery, Terramara (*Keller*, plate 113, fig. 13).

PLATE III.—SKEUOMORPHS OF BASKETRY.

Fig. A. Diagrams of the meander.

,, B. Diagrams of the scroll.

,, 1. Bronze shield, Cyprus (*P. and C.*, ii. 421).

,, 2. Ditto ditto (*P. and C.*, ii. 418).

,, 3. Greek guilloche (*Wornum*, p. 58).

,, 4. Assyrian guilloche (*P. and C.*, ii. 294; *Glazier, Notes on Ornament*, p. 8).

,, 5. Enamelled Roman vase, Bartlow Hills (*A. J.*, xii. 418).

,, 6. Pottery of Ancient Pueblos (*Bureau of Ethnology*, iv. 331).

,, 7. Ditto ditto (*Eth.*, iv. 346).

,, 8. Terra-cotta vase, Third Sepulchre of Mycenæ (*Schliemann*, p. 209).

PLATE IV.—SKEUOMORPHS OF THE WITHY-BAND.

Fig. 1. "The Tarsus Seal" of hæmatite, Hittite (*Nature*, 26th April, 1888, p. 610). The right-hand design strongly resembles a course of the twisted fibre of basketry when removed from the upright osier-sticks.

,, 2. Incised stone, Kirk Maughold, Isle of Man (*Runic Remains*, fig. 24).

,, 3. Incised stone, Church of Mont Majour, Nimes, tenth century (*Wright's Hist. of Caricature*, p. 48).

,, 4. Incised stone, Malew, Isle of Man. "Leather or strap-work" (*Runic Remains*, fig. 15).

FILIGREE.

,, 5. Gold ornament, Lake Möringen (*Keller*, plate 57, fig. 9).

,, 6. Ditto ditto Denmark (*Worsaae, Danish Arts*, p. 62).

,, 7. Bronze pin, Nidau-Steinberg (*Keller*, plate 34, fig. 14).

SKEUOMORPHS OF FASCINING.

Fig. 8. Floor of Lake-dwelling, Niederwyl (*Keller*, plate 16, fig. 8).
,, 9. Inside of earthen vessel, Ueberlingen See (*Keller*, plate 30, fig. 6).
,, 10. Part of "crescent" of red sandstone, Ebersberg (*Keller*, plate 143, fig. 7).
,, 11. Incised stone from Hadrian's Wall (*Collingwood Bruce*).

SKEUOMORPHS OF WEAVING.

,, 12. Greek fret (*Birch's Ancient Pottery*, p. 305, fig. 4).
,, 13. Ditto (*Glazier's Ornament*, p. 8).
,, 14. Japanese fret (*Glazier's Ornament*, p. 8).
,, 15. Anglo-Saxon fret, Lambeth Aldhelm (*Arch. Jour.*, x. 290).

PLATE V.—SKEUOMORPHS OF TIMBERING.

Fig. 1. Rock tomb, Antiphellus, Lycia (*Fellows*, p. 220).
,, 2. Ditto, Xanthus (*Fellows*, p. 226).
,, 3. Ditto, Antiphellus (*Fellows*, p. 221).
,, 4. Mural painting, Pompeii (*Gell*, plate 60).
,, 5. Echinus-pattern, from Greek entablature, Erechtheium (*Wornum*, p. 58).
,, 6. Echinus-pattern, from Samian vase.
,, 7. Greek Anthemion, Apollo Epicurius (*Wornum*, p. 58).

PLATE VI.—ZOOMORPHS. 1.

Fig. 1. Vase, Roman Villa, Chesterfield, Essex (*A. J.*, vi. 19).
,, 2. Iron sword of Gaulish workmanship, Marin Lake (*Keller*, plate 128, fig. 6).
,, 3. Mural decoration, Pompeii (*Art Journal*, 1877, p. 233).
,, 4. Ancient pottery of New Mexico (*Eth.*, ii. 344).
,, 5. Lombardic gold ornament, Chiusi, Tuscany (*Arch. Jour.*, xxxiii. 104).
,, 6. Greek terra-cotta (*Wornum*, p. 28).
,, 7. Top of bench-end, Ormskirk Church (*Manchester Guardian*, 10th November, 1888).
,, 8. Engraved silver plate, Tumulus, Norrie's Law, Scotland (*Arch. Jour.*, vi. 253).
,, 9. Incised stone, Dunnichen, Scotland (*Dawkins, Early Man*, p. 435).
,, 10, 11, 12. New Zealand clubs
,, 13. Hervey Island paddle } (*Mr. Chas Heape*).

PLATE VII.—ZOOMORPHS. 2.

Fig. 1. Incised stone, Isle of Man (*Runic Remains*, fig. 15).
,, 2. King Gorm's stone, Jellinge, Jutland (*Ferguson's Stone Monuments*, p. 296).
,, 3. Incised stone, Gosforth (*Arch. Jour.*, xl. 146).
,, 4. Illumination, Gospel of Mac Regol, now at Oxford (*Arch. Jour.*, x. 291-4).
,, 5. Incised stone, Kirk Michael, Isle of Man (*Runic Remains*, fig. 17).

Fig. 6. Rock-sculpture, Crichie, Scotland } (*Arch. Jour.*, xiv. 193).
„ 7. Ditto }
„ 8. Saxon silver ear-ring Thetford (*Arch. Jour.*, ii. 402).
„ 9. Saxon gold ring, Sussex (*Arch. Jour.*, xi. 28).
„ 10. Saxon tomb, Bedale, Yorks. (*Arch. Jour.*, iii. 258).

WITHY-BAND.

„ 11. Stone coffin, Cambridge Castle (*Arch.*, xvii. 228).
„ 12. Scandinavian triskele, Symbol.
„ 13. Reefing-knot on Britanno-Roman altar, Cohors quarta Gallorum equitata, Risingham, Northumberland (*Arch. Jour.*, xii. 218).

PLATE VIII.—PHYLLOMORPHS.

Fig. A. } Diagrams of Mats.
„ B. }
„ 1. Fringe on king's tunic, in alabaster, Assyria (*P. and C.*, i. 97).
„ 2. Pavilion, in bronze, Gates of Balawat, Assyria (*P. and C.*, i. 194).
„ 3. Representation of a tree in a house, Egypt (*P. and C.*, ii. 3).
„ 4. Ornament painted on plaster, Assyria (*P. and C.*, i. 275).
„ 5. Tassel on king's tunic, on enamelled brick, Assyria (*P. and C.*, ii. 294).
„ 6. Tasselled canopy over the king, on enamelled brick, Assyria (*P. and C.*, ii. 294).
„ 7. Pavilion, carved in stone, Assyria (*P. and C.*, i. 193).
„ 8. Stone door sill, incised, Khorsabad, Assyria (*P. and C.*, i. 240).
„ 9. Enamelled tile, Assyria (*P. and C.*, ii. 294).
„ 10. Ivory panel, containing representation of a king, Assyrian Anthemion (*P. and C.*, ii. 321).
„ 11. Anthemion on Sindh pottery (*Birdwood's Indian Art*, ii. 424).
„ 12. Egyptian Anthemion, Thebes (*Assyrian Art, P. and C.*, i. 306).

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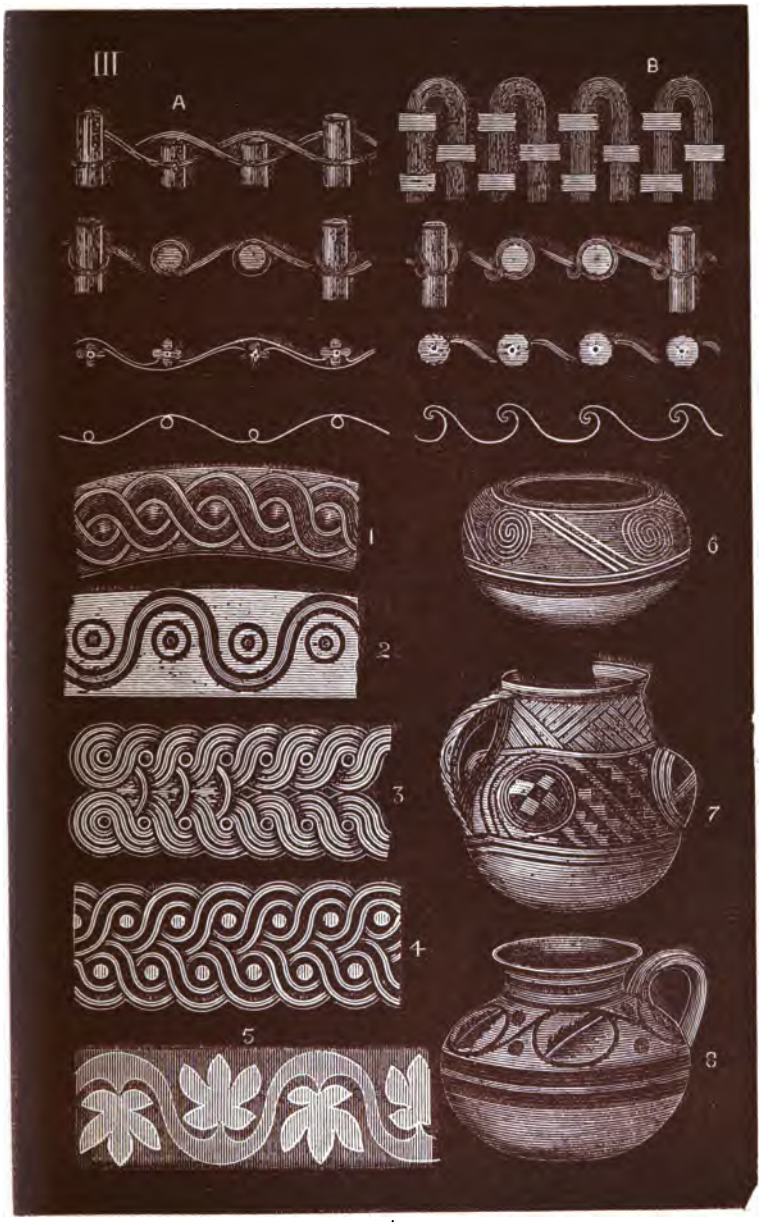
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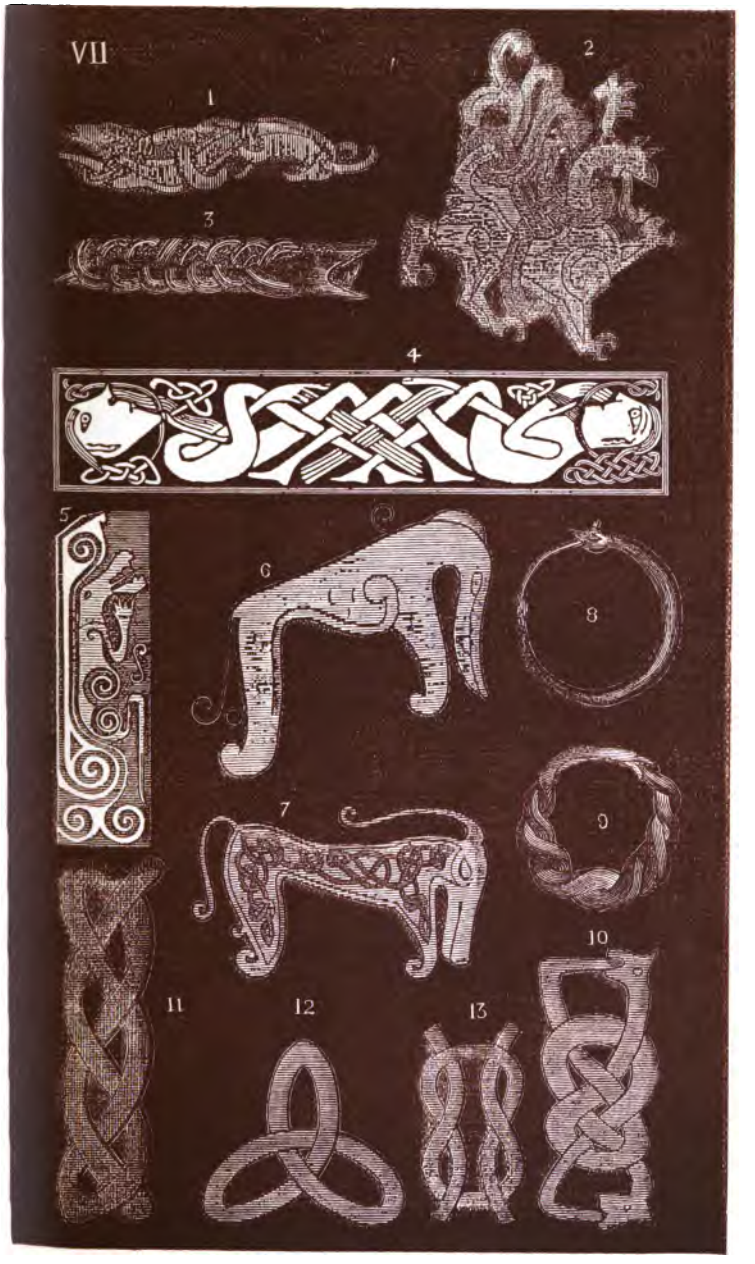
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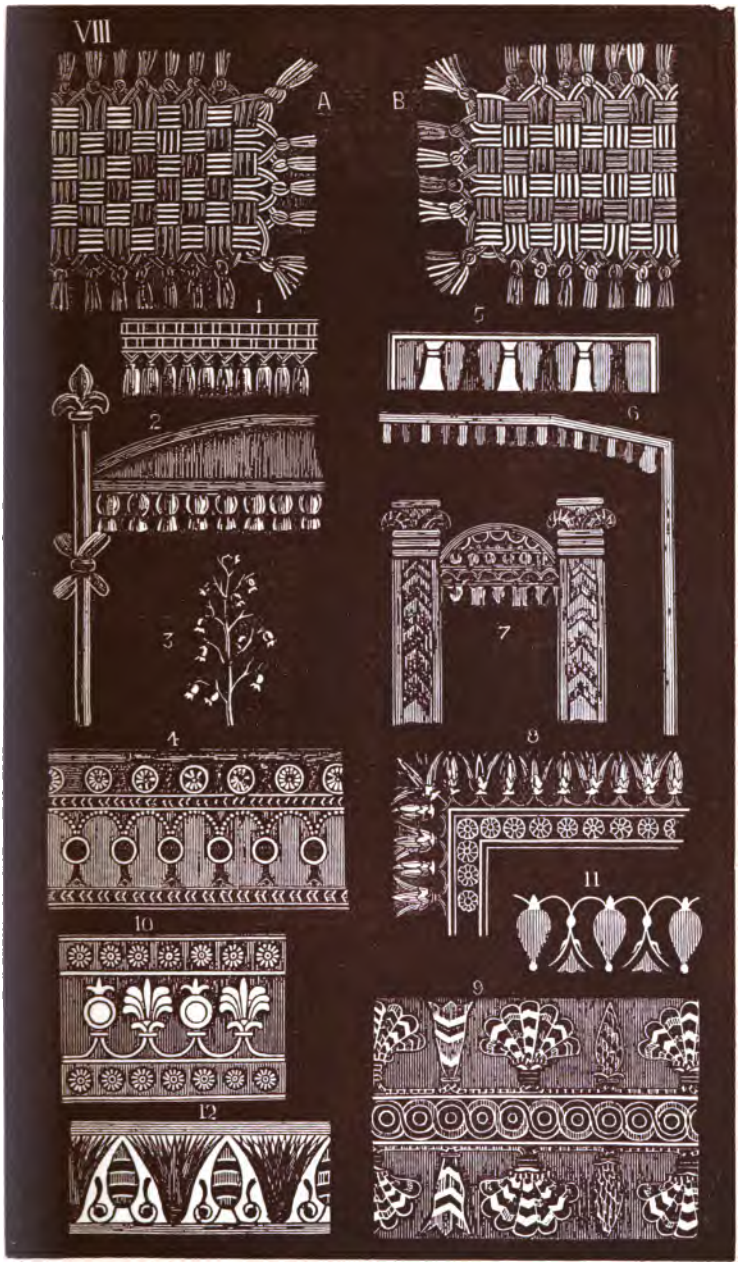
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THE BAYLEY FAMILY OF MANCHESTER AND HOPE.*

BY ERNEST AXON.

THE Bayleys of Manchester and Hope have, until quite recently, been somewhat neglected by genealogists. Yet they are not without interest, and seem always to have been men of action, who never vegetated as mere country gentlemen, but took an active share in public affairs.

The early ancestors of the Bayley family are said to have belonged to the neighbourhood of Blackburn,† the first member to settle in Manchester being Thomas Bayley, who in 1641 was married, at the Collegiate Church, to Anne Churton. Thomas Bayley's name occurs frequently in the Court Leet Records as a holder of some of the minor

* The present paper is founded to some extent on a MS. pedigree compiled by the Rev. Joseph Hunter from the information of Mr. Gamaliel Lloyd, and now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 24,458, f. 66). Additional facts as to the early generations are taken from the MSS. of Mr. John Owen, to whom my special thanks are due; from an unpublished pedigree compiled by Mr. J. E. Bailey; Mr. J. Fred Beever's paper in *Local Gleanings*, vol. i., pp. 103, 166, containing extracts from a family note book; the Court Leet Records; and also from the pedigree in the Piccope MSS. in Chetham's Library. Since this paper was announced Mr. James Croston has included in his edition of Baines's *History of Lancashire* a pedigree of the Bayleys of Hope.

† *Manchester Guardian Notes and Queries*, February 22nd, 1875 (No. 652).

offices and as a juryman, and also on several occasions as being fined for having false weights in his possession. In 1656 he is described as a silk weaver, an occupation he followed till his death in 1688. His widow, Ann Bayley, administered in 1693 to his estate, which consisted of household goods valued at £13. 4s. 11d. Thomas and Ann Bayley had several children. One of them, Daniel Bayley, baptised 26th October, 1651, was, like his father, a silk weaver and served some of the minor local offices. In 1684 he was fined for not keeping in good repair the street before his house. He married Sarah, daughter of Rev. James Bradshaw, of Darcy Lever, and had several children of whom the eldest was James. Daniel Bayley pre-deceased his father, his death occurring 23rd February, 1684-5. His wife survived him ten years, and appears in the Court Leet Records in 1686, having been fined 2d. for being possessed of a weight one ounce too light.

James Bayley, eldest child of Daniel and Sarah Bayley, was baptised at the Collegiate Church in February, 1673-4, and became a prosperous merchant. At the time of the rebellion in 1745 he was one of the wealthiest Whigs in the town, and as such was amongst those to whom, on the 9th December, 1745, the Pretender, then on his retreat from Derby, addressed a warrant "to raise from the town 5,000*l.* against the next day by four o'clock on pain of military execution. It was thought impossible to do this considering the sums they had extorted from the town before, which amounted to nearly 3,000*l.* Next morning [*i.e.*, December 10th, 1745] a considerable number of the inhabitants met; some of whom waited on the Pretender to acquaint him with the impossibility of raising the money, and to endeavour to have the payment excused. Upon this he mitigated it to 2,500*l.*, and sent a warrant for that sum to be levied on Manchester and Salford by one o'clock; and while methods

were contriving how to procure it, three or four of the rebels seized Mr. James Bailey, senior, took him to secretary Murray at the Pretender's lodgings, and told him he must be prisoner till it was paid; and if it was not paid he must go with them. Mr. Bailey excused himself by saying he was betwixt seventy and eighty years old, and, to his remembrance, had not lain a night out of his own bed for two years, nor could bear travel. He was told, if he could not ride, they would endeavour to get him a wheel carriage. Mr. Bailey said his confinement was an obstruction to the raising the money, and if he was at liberty he might borrow some. The secretary brought an answer, that the Prince, in consideration of his age, if he would give him his word and honour to fetch him 2,500*l.* in two hours, or surrender himself a prisoner, consented he should have his liberty so long. This Mr. Bailey agreed to, and went to the coffee-house where a great number of the inhabitants were; and it being proposed that Mr. Bailey and Mr. Dickinson should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as would lend any money, it was agreed to, and the money being thereby procured, was paid about two o'clock."* Dr. Byrom's Journals give a similar account of the matter, though it has been said by some writers that Mr. Bayley was seized by the rebels when on their way to Derby, and was not released till their retreat.

James Bayley had married in 1698 Sarah Kirkes, of Chester, and they had a large family; Daniel, the eldest son, was of Hope Hall, James was of Withington, and Samuel of Manchester. Old James Bayley, "the hostage" as he was called, died in 1753, and his wife died in 1719-20. James Bayley's younger son, James, was registrar of the diocese of Chester, an appointment he may possibly have

* Ray's *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 101 and 102.

owed to his father-in-law, Samuel Peploe, Bishop of Chester. He was a justice of the peace, and in 1757 was high sheriff of Lancashire. One of his sons was the Rev. James Bayley, fellow of the Manchester Collegiate Church. Of the daughters of James Bayley, the registrar, Sarah married Dorning Rasbotham; while Elizabeth was married to Sir John Parker Mosley; Appylina, first to James Moss, of Little Bolton, and secondly to the Rev. Dr. Haddon; Ann, to Archdeacon Abel Ward, of St. Ann's; and Frances to Sir Ashton Lever, collector of the Leverian Museum. Samuel Bayley, old James Bayley's youngest son, was a merchant in Manchester, and his son possessed Booth Hall, in Blackley. Samuel's male descendants continued in business as cotton merchants for several generations, and amongst his descendants in the female line may be counted Sir John Potter, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, M.P., and Dr. W. C. Henry, F.R.S. Old James Bayley's daughter was married to John Touchet, of Broom House, and from their daughter's marriage with the Rev. Ralph Harrison descended, amongst others, William Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist, Dr. Bower Harrison, physician, and the Rev. Dr. John Harrison and the Rev. William Harrison, eminent nonconformist ministers.

We will now revert to the eldest son of James Bayley, the hostage. This was Daniel Bayley, of Hope Hall, who was born 13th October, 1699. On coming into possession of Hope Hall, he caused it to be rebuilt on its old foundations. As he was not apparently in trade in Manchester, we do not find his name on the lists of the Court Leet jury, as his ancestors' had been; but occasionally "Daniel Bayley Esq" figures amongst the other county people on the grand jury at the Lancaster assizes. He is stated to have been a deputy-lieutenant. He took an interest in science, and under his auspices and on his estate Samuel Smethurst and Peter Clare observed in 1761 the transit of Venus. Eight

years later the hall was again placed at their disposal for a similar purpose by Daniel Bayley's son. But such interest as Daniel Bayley's life contains is mostly in connection with his marriages. He was married first to Elizabeth Gaskell, daughter and co-heiress of Nathaniel Gaskell, of Manchester, but the issue of the marriage did not survive infancy. Mrs. Bayley had two sisters, one of whom married Hugh, eleventh Lord Sempill, while the other became the wife of Richard Clive, M.P., and mother of the celebrated Robert, first Lord Clive.

For some reason, Robert Clive, before he was three years old, went to live with his uncle Daniel Bayley, at Manchester, which became his home for several years. He was trained and educated by Mr. Bayley as though he had been his own son. At the end of 1728 the little fellow had a dangerous attack of fever, on which occasion Mr. Bayley wrote to the Rev. Mr. King, at Styche, December 30th, 1728: "Thank God I do now inform you that Bob continues better, and is in a very likely way to recover. We hope that the crisis of the fever was on Saturday last about noon, it having abated ever since. His exceeding patience is also exchanged for as eminent a degree of crossness, which we take as a good omen of his mending. I am writing this close to his bedside, and he is crying with the greatest impatience for me to lie on the bed with him; nor will he be quiet one moment, with all the fine words I can give him, which now makes me conclude abruptly."

Young Robert had a relapse, and it was not until the end of January that he was again running about, and "with some reluctance suffered his aunt Bay to go to chapel." The chapel here mentioned is the chapel in Cross Street, Manchester, at which the Bayley family were at that time regular attendants. The doctrine that the child is father to the man was abundantly verified in the boyhood of Lord Clive. His

uncle writes, 9th June, 1732: "I hope I have made a little further conquest over Bob, and that he regards me in some degree as well as his aunt Bay. He has just had a new suit of clothes, and promises by his reformation to deserve them. I am satisfied that his fighting (to which he is out of measure addicted) gives his temper a fierceness and imperiousness, and he flies out upon trifling occasion; for this reason I do what I can to suppress the hero, that I may help forward the valuable qualities of meekness, benevolence, and patience. I assure you, sir, it is a matter of concern to us, as it is of importance to himself, that he may be a good and virtuous man, to which no care of ours shall be wanting." This is a graphic picture of the future conqueror. Vain were the efforts of the worthy uncle to "suppress the hero" in the boy's composition, though he may have softened some of the rougher portions of his character. Long afterwards, when Clive was far away in India, his thoughts would turn back to his pleasant Lancashire home, to the unpretending chapel frequented by his Presbyterian relatives, to his juvenile encounters and battles, and to all the other circumstances that made him sigh for what in one of his letters he calls "dear, delightful Manchester." In another letter he says: "If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, and all that I could hope for or desire would be presented before me in one view."

Shortly after his first wife's death Daniel Bayley married again. The second wife was Anne, daughter and co-heiress (with her sisters Lady Hoghton and Mrs. Jodrell) of Thomas Butterworth, of Manchester, a wealthy merchant. Mrs. Bayley's mother was a Dukinfield of Dukinfield, and on her father's side she was descended from the Mosleys and other distinguished Manchester families. Daniel Bayley had several children by this marriage, but only one survived him,

namely, Thomas Butterworth Bayley. Daniel Bayley, who gave £100 to be used for the purpose of apprenticing the children of nonconformist ministers and tradesmen, died in 1764. There is some doubt as to where he is buried. One account* says that he was, at his own desire, buried in a vault in the Hart's Hill meadow behind his house, and that afterwards he was disinterred and buried in Eccles Church. But Sir Thomas Baker† has pointed out that the Bayley tombstone at Cross Street Chapel distinctly says "Here lie the remains of" Daniel Bayley and his wife and of several of his children. If they had not been buried at Cross Street, and if the stone there is merely a memorial stone, then it seems probable that it would have read "In memory of." Mrs. Bayley survived her husband for over thirty years, and, being well provided for under her father's will, lived in a house of her own in St. Ann's Square. Her stiff and stately ways made such an impression on the youthful mind of Samuel Hibbert Ware, whose father lived opposite to Mrs. Bayley, that in after years whenever he met any severe-looking old lady he would style her "Madam Bayley."‡

Thomas Butterworth Bayley, the only surviving son of Daniel and Anne Bayley, was born in 1744. After a sound education at Edinburgh University, he settled down to the duties of a country gentleman, was sworn a justice of the peace, and speedily became one of the leading men in the district. When he was only twenty-four years old he was appointed high sheriff. For a number of years he acted as chairman of quarter sessions and as receiver of duchy rents. In 1773 he was elected F.R.S., and in the same year published his pamphlet, *Observations on the Highway and Turnpike Acts.* In 1774 he offered himself as a candidate

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* *Local Gleanings*, p. 166. † *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel*, p. 79.
‡ *Life of S. Hibbert Ware.*

for the borough of Liverpool, but did not go to the poll.* Of course so prominent a magistrate could not escape the Rev. Thomas Seddon when he was looking round for victims to impale in the *Characteristic Strictures.* Consequently he appears in that interesting work, published in 1779, as follows:—

"Thomas B. B—ley, Esq., Hope.

The figure of Hope.

"Among the various attempts of this artist we have not seen one tolerable performance. Had he modestly confined himself to single figures he might probably have been more successful; to represent numbers is infinitely superior to his powers. We cannot, however, give him much credit for this figure; the attitude is too presumptive for Hope, and the cable too slender for the weight of the anchor."

And in a foot note Seddon says: "His ambition has led him to offer himself a candidate for several boroughs in the county, but these and many other examples of Quixotism, with a variety of curious anecdotes, will be particularly described in the history of his life, which is speedily to be published." Seddon refers to him again in ironical terms in the dedication of a sermon printed in 1780; but what was the nature of the quarrel between the clergyman and magistrate I have not been able to ascertain.† Bayley took

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* *Liverpool Weekly Magazine*, October 6th, 1774, p. 24.

† It is interesting to compare the three following dedications to Butterworth Bayley:—

"To Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq.; High-Sheriff of the County Palatine of Lancaster, the following Essay is with the highest Respect, for his Distinguished Abilities, and the sincerest Esteem, for his Amiable Character, inscribed by his affectionate, and most obedient Servant THOMAS PERCIVAL." (Percival's *Experiments and Observations on Water*, 1769.)

"To Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., of Hope,
Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir,—It gives me the highest Satisfaction and Pleasure, that you have condescended to receive this my first Essay under your Protection. And all who are honoured with your Friendship, and are acquainted with your superior

part in all the patriotic efforts in the neighbourhood, and no scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the people was carried out without his assistance. In 1782 he was

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knowledge in polite and useful Learning, in which you have justly included the Science of Numbers, will be sensible of my Happiness in being thus permitted to address you.

Were my Abilities, Sir, equal to my Wishes, I could with Pleasure dilate on those excellent Qualifications, adorned with the utmost Good-nature and Humanity, which have rendered your Character so conspicuous. But, as I well know I should fail in the attempt, the only Use I can make of this opportunity, is, to testify my Regard to so generous a Patron, by publicly acknowledging the many Favours which I, however undeserving, have received at your Hands, and which I shall always remember with the sincerest gratitude.—I am, Sir, your most obliged and obedient Servant, HENRY CLARKE."

(Dr. Henry Clarke's *Rationale of Circulating Numbers*, 1777.)

"To Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq.

To introduce a publication of a political nature to the world, under the protection of a Great Man, is to ensure it a general reading by the Publick.—I therefore humbly dedicate the following Declamation to my most worthy Friend, Mr. Bayley,—trusting on his neighbourly affection to support me against the malignity of partial Commentators, or the attacks of dissatisfied Fanatics; and I am the more inclined to confide in this expectation, from the many observations made upon his publick, as well as private Conduct, both which declare his sincere attachment to the King and dutiful attention to the privileges of the Crown.

As a Magistrate,—his Worship is so strenuous a defender of the Laws, that even those which are generally esteemed lenient,—when dealt out with his spirited exertion,—have in their consequences,—by moderate Men,—unwittingly been called severe.

As a private Gentleman, he is so indefatigable to rectify every Grievance, that even the shadow of complaint cannot escape him, for with becoming activity he investigates the cupboard of every cottager in his neighbourhood,—with a manifest intention to suppress Luxury in its infancy, knowing by Family experience, that AEs in presenti perfectum format, and how difficult it is to soar above the loathsome Habitation of a Cellar,—without Temperance and Industry.

From the above considerations I am persuaded, Mr. Bayley will not be displeased with this, tho' hasty attempt to vindicate the rights of Majesty, and to give evidence against the Stratagems of Treason, especially as it will discover to him a wish,—to follow his own laudable example of extracting another Name from deep obscurity.

I am with much Gratitude, for the unmerited favours Mr. Bayley has so repeatedly conferred upon me, his most oblig'd and very humble Servant,

Acres Barn, near Manchester, February 15th, 1780. } THOMAS SEDDON."

(Seddon's "Sermon at Hardwick," 1780.)

lieutenant-colonel of the Manchester Military Association. In 1797 he took an active part in raising the Manchester and Salford Volunteers, subscribing twenty guineas towards the initial expenses,* and becoming colonel of the regiment on its embodiment. The work in which he took the greatest interest, however, was the improvement of prisons. An earnest disciple of John Howard, he became convinced of the necessity for a prison on the modern plan to replace the old House of Correction, which was then in a disgraceful condition. With characteristic energy he overcame all opposition to his project; a site was selected, and in 1787 Mr. Bayley laid the first stone of the New Bayley Prison.† In 1790 the place was finished, but when, as chairman of quarter sessions, Mr. Bayley charged the grand jury, he had to speak of the death of Howard only a few weeks before the completion of one of the earliest of the prisons constructed in entire accordance with his views. The name of the prison has excited some discussion; the question in dispute is whether it is called the New Bailey after the Old Bailey in London, or whether it owed its name as well as existence to Mr. Butterworth Bayley. That during Mr. Bayley's lifetime the name was usually spelled as he spelled his name there can be no doubt, but it is equally certain that the next chairman of quarter sessions, who did not share Mr. Bayley's political views, was disinclined to allow the honour of the name to his Whig predecessor, and always insisted that the gaol was named after the prison in London and not after Mr. Bayley.‡

In 1794, the grand jury of which Mr. Bayley was foreman requested the high sheriff to make efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the debtors in Lancaster Gaol.§ In

* *Manchester Mercury*, 7th Mar., 1797. † Croston's *Baines' Lancashire*, ii. 140.
‡ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1819, vol. ii. 224, 386.
§ *Preston Guardian Local Sketches*, 23rd May, 1883.

1795, Mr. Bayley was elected president of the newly-formed Manchester Board of Health.* Working on the lines of a plan drawn up at his request by Dr. John Ferriar, the board established the House of Recovery, an institution now amalgamated with the Royal Infirmary. Mr. Bayley was one of the first vice-presidents of the Literary and Philosophical Society;† and when, in 1787, a society was formed in Manchester for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave trade, he and his mother were amongst the subscribers, and Mr. Bayley was elected a member of the first committee of the society.‡

Mr. Bayley's leisure was devoted to agriculture, and it is to him that we owe the elms at Hope Hall. He was one of the founders of the Manchester Agricultural Society, and was awarded, by that society, several premiums; and he was an honorary member of the Board of Agriculture in London. His *Thoughts on the necessity and advantage of care and economy in collecting and preserving different substances for manure*, addressed to the members of the Agricultural Society of Manchester, October the 13th, 1795, reached a second edition in 1796, and a third in 1799. In addition to this he was the author of an essay "On a cheap and expeditious method of draining land," which was printed in Hunter's *Georgical Essays*, in 1772. Mr. Bayley's religious beliefs were broad. He was from 1778 to 1802 a trustee of Cross Street Chapel,§ and he was also a vice-president of the Warrington Academy.‖ He was an original seatholder and trustee of St. John's, Deansgate, the first incumbent of which was an earnest Swedenborgian.¶ Mr.

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* *Minutes of the Manchester Board of Health* and Sir W. H. Clerke's *Thoughts on the Health of the Poor*, 1790, p. 4.

† Smith's *Centenary of Science.* ‡ *Manchester Mercury*, 15th Jan., 1798.

§ Baker's *Memorials.* ‖ *Monthly Repository*, 1814, p. 598.

¶ *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, v. 125.

Bayley was also an attendant at Eccles Church. Charles Hulbert, in his *Memoirs of an Eventful Life*, says: "I remember with reverence that worthy magistrate, chairman of the Salford quarter sessions, Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq. The first sermon for a Sunday school that I ever heard was at Eccles Church, when the justice bareheaded took his place at the church door with his box in his hand, repeatedly soliciting the congregation as it passed him, 'To remember the poor,' 'Do remember the poor.'"

Thomas Butterworth Bayley died at Buxton in 1802, and was buried at Eccles, where there is an inscription, probably written by Dr. Percival, to his memory. His widow, Mary, daughter of Vincent Leggatt, of Tottenham, died at Lichfield in 1818. They had a very large family, but several of their children died young. The eldest son, Daniel Bayley, after having received his education at the Manchester Grammar School and the Warrington Academy, went to Russia, where he became a partner in a mercantile house. After several years in business he retired in consequence of great pecuniary losses. In 1812 he was appointed British Consul-General in Russia, and in 1815 he was knighted in recognition of his services during the French war. His connection with Lancashire was not very close, but he was a deputy-lieutenant of the county, a member of the Manchester Agricultural Society, and on at least one occasion served on the grand jury at the Lancaster assizes. He died in 1834.

Edward Clive Bayley, the fourth son, was also a merchant in St. Petersburg. He died in 1841, leaving a son, Sir Edward Clive Bayley, who attained a distinguished position in the Indian Civil Service, and had a considerable reputation as an Orientalist.

Henry Vincent Bayley, the fifth son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley, was born at Hope Hall on the 6th December,

1777, and educated at Winwick Grammar School and at Eton. In April, 1796, he commenced his residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1800 he took his degree of B.A., and was first prizeman of the junior bachelors, and the following year was first prizeman of the senior bachelors. He was then pronounced by Porson to be the first Greek scholar of his standing in England. In October, 1802, Henry Bayley was elected fellow of his college, and in 1803 was ordained deacon by Dr. Majendie, Bishop of Chester. Bayley was appointed chaplain. Shortly after Mr. Bayley was appointed preceptor to Mr. W. E. Tomline, eldest son of Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, and from that bishop he received the rectory of Stilton, in Huntingdonshire. In 1805 the bishop offered him the subdeanery of Lincoln and with it the prebendal stall of Crackpool St. Mary, and on the 5th July, 1805, he was installed. When he went to Lincoln one of the towers was found to be in danger of falling. Mr. Bayley caused it to be removed, and as the only remaining tower looked out of place, that also was taken down. These alterations caused some ill-feeling towards the new subdean. Mr. Bayley also had numerous monuments that disfigured the walls of the cathedral removed and placed in a small chapel, thus regaining some of the pristine beauty of the interior of the cathedral. In 1811, Bayley was presented to the living of Messingham with Bottesford, and here also he made numerous improvements and alterations in the church. He purchased from the Manchester Cathedral, then undergoing extensive "improvements," some of the stained glass windows, which he placed in Messingham Church. He established a joint stock library in Lincoln, and in 1813 founded some schools on the Madras system. In 1823, Dr. Pelham, Bishop of Lincoln, collated Mr. Bayley to the archdeaconry of Stow. Archdeacon Bayley was then created D.D. by the University

of Cambridge. In 1826, Dr. Bayley was appointed rector of Westmeon with Privet, in Hampshire, and resigned his living at Messingham.

Sunday was the favourite day of the Hampshire villagers for playing cricket, and this use of the Lord's day was a great annoyance to Dr. Bayley, who endeavoured, in his own parish, to have it summarily put a stop to; but this aroused the anger of the parishioners. He then tried other methods; he established a Sunday afternoon service, but this only delayed Sunday playing until a little later in the day, as the farm boys brought their bats under their smocks and left them in the porch during service, after which they took up their bats and, going to the village green, commenced to play. Dr. Bayley then induced the farmers to allow their labourers several hours on the week days for the game, and he had the satisfaction of thus having abolished what he considered to be a profanation of the Christian sabbath. He probably did not know that his parishioners might have cited as their example in Sunday recreation some well-known leaders of the English Reformation. In 1828 he exchanged his preferment of subdean of Lincoln for that of canon of Westminster. Dr. Bayley was very unfortunate as regards his health; he had several accidents, and a few years after going to Messingham his shoulder was dislocated, and he was almost incapacitated from using his pen, and he was disabled from walking and riding from 1842 till his death, which occurred on the 12th August, 1844. He was buried with his wife in Westmeon churchyard. Mrs. Bayley, who was a daughter of Mr. James Touchet, of Broom House, had died 17th June, 1839.

Charles Bayley, the sixth son, was in the service of the East India Company, and died in 1865.

William Butterworth Bayley, the seventh son, entered the East India Company's service and prospered in it, becoming,

in 1819, Chief Secretary to the Government of India. In 1823 he was involved in a discussion with Mr. Silk Buckingham on the power of transportation without trial. In 1825, W. B. Bayley was appointed member of the Council, and three years later, as senior member, he became acting Governor-General for several months. In 1830 he left India, but he still took part in the East India Company's work, being elected a director in 1833, deputy-chairman in 1839, and chairman in 1840. He died in 1860. William Butterworth Bayley was a good specimen of the old school of Indian civil servants, and did not long survive the extinction of the Company he had so well served. Two of his sons have distinguished themselves in India, the elder being the Hon. H. V. Bayley, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and the younger being Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay.

Cornwall Bayley, the eighth son, was at Cambridge, but did not graduate. He wrote some University verse, and was only twenty-three at the time of his death in 1807.

Thomas Dukinfield Bayley, the tenth son, was engaged in trade in Russia, and was returning to that country in 1807, in the ship "Agatha," when he was drowned, having just completed his twenty-first year.

George Thornton Bayley, the youngest son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley, was born in 1790, the birth being announced in the Manchester papers as that of the "seventeenth child and thirteenth son." He was on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company's service, and died in 1835.

Thomas Butterworth Bayley had several daughters, none of whom married. Mary Anne Bayley died in her sixteenth year, in 1789. To her memory Dr. John Aitkin wrote some verses, which have been included in his collected works. They were first issued in leaflet form, with a very pleasing portrait of the young lady.

Thus we have briefly surveyed the history of the Bayley family for two hundred and fifty years. From prosperous traders they became active and useful country gentlemen, and for the last century have occupied an important position amongst those families on whom has fallen the gigantic responsibility of ruling the vast millions of our Indian Empire.

Appendix I.

GENEALOGICAL.

A.—Bayley of Manchester and Hope.

[1] Thomas Bayley, of Deansgate, Manchester, silk weaver (so described in Court Leet Records in 1657, and in his administration bond). From 1647 to 1679 he acted frequently as an office holder under the Court Leet, as officer for mastiff dogs, and for forestallers and regrators of the market, as market looker for white meat, as mise gatherer, and in various other capacities. In 1651 and several later years he was one of the jury, and he occasionally occurs in the Records less reputably, as being fined for having false weights in his possession.* In 1661 he took the oath of allegiance. In 1668 he was assessed at 1s. 4d. for his house in Deansgate. He was buried at the Collegiate Church, 28th August, 1688. His administration bond, preserved at Chester, is printed below:—

"*Administration of the goods &c. of Thomas Bayley of Manchester co. Lanc., silkweaver.* 1693.

Bond by which Ann Bayley of Manchester co. Lanc., widow, and George Warburton of Manchester aforesaid, are bound to the Bishop of Chester, in £80.

Dated 25th August 1693.

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* Earwaker's *Court Leet Records*, iv., v., vi.

The condition is that the above bounden Ann Bayley, Administratrix of all the goods &c. of her late husband Thomas Bayley of Manchester aforesaid, silkweaver, deceased, do make or cause to be made and exhibited a true Inventory of all the goods &c. of the said deceased, at or before the 10th Dec. next ensuing.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of, Ric: Wroe Samll Wrightson. — Ann Bayley her A B mark. George Warburton.

Inventory taken 22 Augst 1693 by Joseph Bradshaw and Thomas Anderson.

Household goods &c.
In the House.
In the Buttery.
In the Parlour.
In the Chamber.
In the Backside.
Total 13li 4s 11d

Exhibited 25 Augst 1693."

Thomas Bayley was married at the Collegiate Church, 26th August, 1641,* to Anne Churton, probably one of the numerous family of Chorlton. She survived him, taking out letters of administration to his estate. They had seven children baptised at the Collegiate Church:—

(1) Anne Bayley, baptised 17th July, 1642; buried at Collegiate Church, 15th August, 1649.

(2) Alice Bayley, baptised 8th September, 1644; married at Collegiate Church, 8th September, 1664, Theophilus Astle.

(3) Timothy Bayley, baptised 28th December, 1645; buried 19th January, 1646-7.

* All baptisms, deaths, and burials at Collegiate Church are from Mr. John Owen's transcripts, unless otherwise stated.

(4) Thomas Bayley, baptised 6th June, 1647.
(5) Sarah Bayley, buried 24th March, 1649-50.
(6) Daniel Bayley, of whom presently.
(7) Mary Bayley, baptised 13th April, 1659; buried 28th August, 1660.

[2] DANIEL BAYLEY, of Manchester, silk weaver. Baptised at the Collegiate Church, 26th October, 1651. In 1679, 1683, and 1684 he was appointed respectively an inmates officer for Markett Street Lane, bylaw man for Deansgate, and market looker for weights and measures. In 1684 he was fined for not keeping in repair the street before his house.* He died before his father; his death being referred to by Newcome† under date 23rd February, 1684-5, "Dan. Bayley died this morning." He was buried at the Collegiate Church on the 24th February, 1684-5. Administration was granted to his estate, the bond being now missing.

"*Administration of the goods &c. of Daniel Bailey of Manchester co. Lanc.* *1684-5.*

(From the Act Book.) 14 March 1684-[5].

Letters of Administration of the goods &c. of Daniel Baley late of Manchester co. Lanc. deceased, granted to Sara Baley widow, relict of the said deceased, first sworn &c. and to exhibit an Inventory before the 25th April next ensuing."

Daniel Bayley was married by a license, dated 25 Car. II. and filed at Chester,‡ to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. James Bradshaw, of Darcy Lever. She was baptised at Wigan, 15th September, 1650,§ and survived her husband. She was fined at the Court Leet in 1687 for possessing a false weight,

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* *Court Leet Records*, vi. † H. Newcome's *Autobiography*, ii. 306.
‡ *Local Gleanings.*
§ Bridgeman's *Church of Wigan*, iii. 470.

and was buried in the Collegiate Church, 30th July, 1695. Her will was proved at Chester in 1695. Issue of Daniel Bayley and Sarah were:—

(1) James Bayley, of whom below.
(2) Elizabeth Bayley, baptised 17th February, 1675-6, at Collegiate Church. [Mr. Owen's MSS. says daughter of *Samuel* Bayley, silk weaver, but Mr. Bailey's pedigree gives her as daughter of Daniel.]
(3) Anne Bayley, baptised 21st November, 1678, at Collegiate Church.
(4) Sarah Bayley, baptised 21st April, 1681, at Collegiate Church.
(5) Alice Bayley, baptised 10th April, 1684; buried 7th May, 1696, both at Collegiate Church.

[3] JAMES BAYLEY, of Manchester, merchant. Baptised at the Collegiate Church, 4th February, 1673-4. In 1745 he was a hostage held by the Pretender for the town of Manchester. He is said to have resided at Hope Hall, but this seems doubtful, for as late as 1744 the occupant of Hope is given on the list of leypayers as Mr. Thomas Bradshaw.* James Bayley died on the 6th April, 1753, and was buried at the Collegiate Church. He was married on 3rd January, 1698, to Sarah, daughter of Samuel Kirkes of Chester. Mrs. Bayley was buried 8th January, 1719-20, at the Collegiate Church. The children of James and Sarah Bayley were:—

(1) Daniel Bayley, of Hope, of whom below.
(2) Samuel Bayley, baptised 16th December, 1701; buried at Collegiate Church, 4th January, 1701-2.
(3) James Bayley, of Withington [see pedigree B].
(4) John Bayley, baptised 23rd February, 1707-8; buried 1st July, 1709.

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* Harland's *Parish Church of Eccles*, p. 55.

(5) Sarah Bayley, born 12th May, baptised 22nd May, 1710; married 4th March, 1734, at Collegiate Church, John Touchet, of Manchester, merchant. [Mr. Owen's MSS. says John Touchet and Mary Bayley.] From this marriage descended Hannah Touchet, wife of Archdeacon H. V. Bayley, William Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist, J. Bower Harrison, M.D., and the Rev. John Harrison, Ph.D.
(6) Mary Bayley, buried 29th March, 1713.
(7) Samuel Bayley, of Manchester [see pedigree C].
(8) Benjamin Bayley, buried 28th September, 1722.

[4] DANIEL BAYLEY, the eldest son, was born 13th October, 1699. He was an attendant at Cross Street Chapel, of which he was a trustee, and to which he took Lord Clive, his wife's nephew. He resided at Hope Hall, which he rebuilt, was occasionally a grand juryman at the Lancaster assizes, and is said to have been one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county. He died 14th May, 1764.

Daniel Bayley gave £100 to be put forth at interest for the binding apprentice of the children of poor Protestant dissenting ministers and decayed tradesmen, not excluding other Protestants who should have been of sober and religious behaviour and of good credit and reputation. This sum was to be held by the trustees who were responsible for the sum of £500 given by Ann Butterworth, Daniel Bayley's second wife's grandmother.

Daniel Bayley, of Hope, was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and coheiress of Nathaniel Gaskell, of Manchester, to whom he was married in 1717.* Mrs. Bayley's two sisters were married respectively to Hugh, eleventh Lord Sempill, and Richard Clive, M.P., father of

* Northowram Registers, 212.

Lord Clive. The issue of this marriage was an only child, Elizabeth Bayley, who died 12th April, 1735, aged two, and is buried at the Cathedral. The mother died 26th February, 1734-5, in her thirty-fifth year, and is buried with her child.*

Daniel Bayley's second wife was Anne, daughter and coheiress (with her sisters, Lady Hoghton and Hon. Mrs. George Sempill) of Thomas Butterworth, of Manchester, by Frances, one of the numerous children of the second marriage of Sir Robert Dukinfield, baronet. Mrs. Ann Bayley was a granddaughter of the Mrs. Butterworth, the foundress of the charity bearing her name, and through her was descended from the Mosleys and other eminent Manchester families. She survived her husband, and died at her house in St. Anne's Square, 3rd March, 1795, aged eighty-two, and was buried at Cross Street Chapel. The abstract of that portion of her father's will (dated 25th December, 1744) in which she was interested is as follows:—

"To his daughter Anne wife of Mr. Daniel Bayley, he had already given £3800 and he now further bequeaths for life All those two messuages or dwelling houses with the appurtenances situate and being near the Cross in Manchester aforesaid in the several occupations of John Berry and John Bracegirdle or their respective Undertenants. Also all those two Messuages or dwelling Houses with the app^{s} situate and being in a certain street called the Smithy Door in Manchester aforesaid in the several occupations of Richard Jackson and Magdalene Whitworth widow or their respective Undertenants And also all my Messuages Farmes and Tenements lying and being in Chadderton in the said County of Lancaster with the Lands and Hereditaments thereunto respectively belonging or therewith respectively occupied and enjoyed And also that Yearly Rent or sum of Two

* John Owen.

Pounds issuing or payable out of a Messuage and Lands near Coleshau in Chadderton aforesaid And also all those two other Messuages or dwelling Houses with the Gardens Stables and appurtenances thereunto belonging or therewith respectively occupied and enjoyed at or near a place called Tinker Lane within Oldham in the said County of Lancaster now in the occupation of Samuel Taylor and John Lees or their respective undertenants" with remainder to Thomas Butterworth Bayley the second son and heirs (the first son being provided for).

"Also I give and bequeath all those my Messuages and Lands situate in or near a certain Street called Deansgate in Manchester aforesaid and also my Messuage and Lands in Newton in the Parish of Manchester aforesaid (which Messuages and Lands I hold by three several Leases for years from the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester aforesaid) unto my said daughter Anne for life—and to any child she may limit"—her Ex^rs &c.

Also I give unto my said dāur Anne £80 "due to me upon Mortgage from Jacob Taylor of Chadderton aforesaid." Residue amongst 3 Daūrs equally.

"Executors my beloved son in law Daniel Bayley, my beloved brother in law Robert Dukinfield Esq^r and my beloved friend and neighbour John Smith merchant. Signed in presence of Sam^l Bayley Robert Hibbert jun^r Judith Clough."*

Daniel Bayley and Ann had a large family, who all died in infancy except Thomas Butterworth Bayley. Of these—

James Bayley, died —— 30th, 1746, aged ten, buried at Cross Street.†

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* From the transcript formerly in the possession of the late Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A.

† Dates, &c., from the gravestone inscription at Cross Street Chapel (Mr. J. Owen's MSS.).

Frances Bayley, died May 3rd, 1742, aged five, buried at Cross Street.*

Sarah Bayley, died 16th November, 1743, aged three, buried at Cross Street.*

Susannah Bayley, died 28th December, 17–5, aged eight, buried at Cross Street.*

Thomas Butterworth Bayley, of whom presently.

Daniel Benjamin Bayley, died 5th December, 1755, aged —, buried at Cross Street.*

[5] THOMAS BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY,† the only survivor of the children of Daniel and Ann, was born at Manchester, June 20th, 1744, and was educated at Edinburgh University. Justice of the peace for Lancashire, high sheriff in 1768, and perpetual chairman of quarter sessions. He was receiver of duchy rents, elected F.R.S. 18th February, 1773,‡ and admitted 4th March, 1773; lieutenant-colonel of the Manchester Military Association, 1782;§ and colonel of the Manchester and Salford Volunteers, 1797-1801. He died at Buxton on June 24th, 1802. A fuller notice of him is given in the preceding pages, and a bibliography of his works is included in Appendix II. He married, at Tottenham Parish Church, 17th September, 1765,‖ Mary, daughter of Vincent Leggatt, of Tottenham. By this lady, who died at the Friary, Lichfield, September 5th, 1818, aged seventy, and is buried at Eccles,¶ he had a very large family:—

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* Dates, &c., from the gravestone inscription at Cross Street Chapel (Mr. J. Owen's MSS.).

† The arms used by Mr. T. B. Bayley were "Ar. on a fesse between three martlets gu. as many plates." They occur on the memorial tablet in Eccles church and on the bookplates of his two sons, H. V. and G. T. Bayley.

‡ Thompson's *History of Royal Society*.

§ *Baines' Lancashire*, by Croston, ii. 139.

‖ Piccope MSS. xv. 232, which is also the authority for dates of the births of the children of this marriage.

¶ Harland's *Eccles Church*. *Manchester Chronicle*, 12th September, 1818.

1. Sir Daniel Bayley, born at Hope, 14th September, 1766, was educated at the Manchester Grammar School, which he entered 6th October, 1776,* and at the Warrington Academy (admitted 1782).† He became a merchant at St. Petersburg, being a partner in the firm of Thorntons and Bayley, which was dissolved 30th April, 1810.‡ Having retired from business on account of great pecuniary losses, he was appointed, on October 9th, 1812, consul-general at St. Petersburg, and was also agent to the Russia Company. He was knighted, 20th June, 1815, and his services as *charge d'affaires*, during the absence of the English ambassador, were also rewarded by the knighthood of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order. He was a member of the Manchester Agricultural Society, and a deputy-lieutenant for the county of Lancaster. He died 21st June, 1834, and is buried in his maternal grandfather's grave at Tottenham.§ Sir Daniel Bayley was twice married; firstly to Eleanor Saffree, at St. Petersburg, 6th November, 1790. She died at Hope, Friday, September 17th, 1793, aged twenty-seven.‖ Sir Daniel's second wife was Maria Barbara Fock, who died 19th May, 1854, aged seventy-nine, and is buried at Leamington. The only child of this marriage was Mary Bayley.

2. Thomas Leggatt Bayley, born October, 1767; died 6th September, 1768, aged eleven months; buried at Tottenham.¶

3. Sarah Bayley, born 3rd August, 1770; died at Lichfield, 28th July, 1845. She is referred to by John Ford, in Wilson's *Correspondence*,

> "As the thorns of the Rose by its fragrance are veil'd,
> So is Bayley's sharp wit in politeness conceal'd."

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* Smith's *Manchester School Register*, ii. 16.
† *Monthly Repository*, 1814, p. 598. ‡ *London Gazette.*
§ Cansick's *Epitaphs of Middlesex*, vol. iii., p. 77. ‖ Owen's MSS.
¶ Cansick's *Epitaphs of Middlesex*, vol. iii., p. 77.

4. Mary Anne Bayley, born 1773; died at Hampstead,* 29th December 1789, aged fifteen, and buried at Tottenham.† Her death called forth from Dr. John Aikin the following verses, which were printed, with a portrait of the young lady:‡

TO THE MEMORY OF
MARY ANNE BAYLEY,
WHO DIED DECEMBER 29th, 1789. AGED SIXTEEN.
[Portrait here.]

When loveliness array'd in opening Bloom,
Framed to delight the Sense, the Heart to cheer,
Sinks early blasted to the silent Tomb,
Who can suppress the Sigh, restrain the Tear?

Such was the Treasure lost, these lines record;
And on the stone perused by kindred Eyes
Long shall that Name in faithful memory stored,
Bid Sorrows flow, and keen Regrets arise.

But Faith sheds comfort on the troubled mind,
And Gratitude recounts what once was given,
To Him who lent it be the Boon resigned!
What soul too spotless, kind, and good, for Heav'n?

5. John Bayley, born at Hope, 19th May, 1775; was in the commerce side of Manchester Academy§ from 6th September, 1790, to June, 1792. He died at Lichfield, 6th January, 1848.

6. Edward Clive Bayley, born 16th August, 1776; educated at Manchester Academy, 1790-92;§ was a successful merchant in St. Petersburg, where he died 22nd February, 1841. He was married at Cheltenham, 2nd July, 1814,‖ to Margaret, eldest daughter of James Fenton, of Hampstead. His children included:—

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* Owen's MSS. † Cansick's *Epitaphs*, iii. 77.

‡ A copy of the broadside is in the Binns Collection (vol. xvi., p. 54) in the Liverpool Free Library. See also *Manchester Guardian Notes and Queries*, No. 1054.

§ Roll of Students, M.N.C. ‖ *Exchange Herald*, 12th July, 1814.

(1) Mary Margaret Bayley, eldest daughter, who died* at St. Petersburg 14th September O.S., 26th September N.S., 1821, aged six years.

(2) Thomas Butterworth Bayley, died† in infancy, at St. Petersburg, 15th July, 1819 O.S.

3. Sir Edward Clive Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., born at St. Petersburg, October, 1821; was of the Bengal civil service, and a member of council of Viceroy of India. He died in 1884. He married, 6th March, 1850, Emily Anne Theophila, daughter of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart., and by her, who survives him, had issue a numerous family.

7. Ven. Henry Vincent Bayley, D.D., born at Hope, 6th December, 1777. Went first to Winwick Grammar School; entered Eton in May, 1789. Of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1800, M.A. 1803, D.D. 1824. First prizeman of junior bachelors, 1800; and of senior bachelors, 1801. Fellow of his college, October, 1802; and ordained deacon, 1803, and appointed chaplain to the Bishop of Chester. Tutor to Mr. W. E. Tomline, son of Bishop Tomline of Lincoln. Rector of Stilton; subdean of Lincoln,‡ 1805-28; prebendary of Crackpole St. Mary, Lincoln Cathedral,‡ 1805-28; rector of Messingham, 1811-1826; archdeacon of Stow, 1823; rector of Westmeon with Privet, in Hampshire, 1826; prebendary of Westminster, 31st July, 1828.‡ Archdeacon Bayley died 12th August, 1844, and was buried at West Meon. He married, at Eccles, 17th June, 1807, Hannah, second daughter of James Touchet, of Broom House; she died 17th June, 1839, and is buried at Westmeon.

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* *Manchester Herald*, 1821; *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1821, p. 380.

† *Manchester Chronicle*, 28th August, 1819.

‡ Le Neve's *Fasti*.

8. Frances Bayley, born 5th March, 1779; died at Leamington; unmarried. Her death is announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1841, p. 220, as having occurred "lately."

9. Charles Bayley, born 13th March, 1780; was in the H.E.I.C.S. Bengal establishment. He died in Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, on January 19th, 1865. Charles Bayley was married at Calcutta, 30th March, 1800,* to Mary Anne Smith, niece of John Wilton, commercial resident at Keorpoy, and had issue:—

(1) Mary Anne, born 22nd May, 1803; baptised at Eccles 30th December, 1806, with her two younger sisters.†

(2) Henrietta Frances, born 18th January, 1805; married 23rd March, 1824, to Edward Peploe Smith, and died 18th December, 1824.

(3) Lucy Wilton, born at Hope 2nd October, 1806.

(4) William Henry Bayley, of Leamington, from whose communications to Mr. J. F. Beever the *Local Gleanings* article on the Bayleys was compiled.

10. William Butterworth Bayley, born 30th November, 1781. In the H.E.I.C.S. officiating Governor-General of India 13th March, 1828; deputy-chairman in 1839 and chairman in 1840 of the company. Died at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, 20th May, 1820. He married Anne Augusta, daughter of William Jackson, registrar of the Supreme Court, Calcutta. She died at Bath, 19th April, 1848, aged fifty-six, having had several children, including:—

(1) Henry Vincent Bayley, born 1816, judge of the High Court, Calcutta. Died 5th February, 1873; married and had issue.

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* Mr. Owen's MSS.

† Eccles Parish Registers, to which the Rev. Canon Pitcairn courteously gave me access.

(2) Mary Stuart Bayley, eldest daughter, married at St. George's, Hanover Square, 29th February, 1840, to Bazet David Colvin, J.P. (her cousin).

(3) Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Born 1836; married, 1860, Anna, daughter of R. N. Farquharson, B.C.S., and has issue.

11. Cornwall Bayley, born 13th March, 1784; entered Rugby 1797;* afterwards of Christ's College, Cambridge; died at Pontefract, November, 1807.

12. Frederick Bayley, born 29th May, 1785.

13. Thomas Dukinfield Bayley, born 3rd March, 1787; entered Rugby 1797.* In the Russia trade. Drowned at sea, off Memel, 7th April, 1808, being washed from the "Agatha," in which he was returning to Russia.

14. George Thornton Bayley, born 1790; entered Rugby School December 3rd, 1800, but was a gown boy at the Charterhouse from 1801 to 1806. He was on the Bengal establishment, H.E.I.C., and died at Devonshire Place, London, May 31st, 1835, and was buried at Tottenham.

B.—Bayley of Withington.

James Bayley, of Withington (third son of James Bayley the elder, of Manchester, the hostage of 1745), was born 24th March, 1705.† In early life he was engaged in trade in Manchester, and was one of the constables of the town in 1735.‡ On the 9th August, 1745, he was constituted registrar of Chester,§ a post he probably owed to his father-in-law. In 1757 he served the office of high sheriff of the county of Lancaster, and about the same period became an active justice of the peace. He was approved a deputy-

* *Rugby School Register*, p. 80.

† *Local Gleanings*, 166. ‡ Court Leet Records.

§ *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, second series, vol. iii.

lieutenant of the county 27th April, 1761.* James Bayley died 14th November, 1769, and was buried at the Collegiate Church, Manchester. His wife was Anne, daughter of the Right Rev. Samuel Peploe, D.D., Bishop of Chester and warden of Manchester. She was baptised at Preston in November, 1702, and died 29th November, 1769, and was buried with her husband. James and Anne Bayley had issue twelve children, who were all, except where otherwise stated, baptised at St. Anne's Church, Manchester.†

(1) Sarah Bayley, born 16th, baptised 30th November, 1728, at Collegiate Church; married in 1754 to Dorning Rasbotham, Esq. (high sheriff, co. Lancaster, 1769), and died 30th April, 1805, aged seventy-seven.

(2) Anne Bayley, baptised 29th January, 1729-30, married, at Northenden,‡ 18th April, 1750, the Ven. Abel Ward, M.A., rector of St. Anne's, Manchester, and archdeacon of Chester.

(3) Mary Bayley, born 6th December, 1730; baptised at Collegiate Church, 28th January, 1730-1.

(4) Elizabeth Bayley, baptised at Collegiate Church, 7th March, 1730.

(5) Samuel Bayley, baptised 2nd February, 1731-2. In the army.

(6) Mary Bayley, baptised 9th May, 1734; buried at St. Anne's.

(7) Elizabeth Bayley, baptised 3rd December, 1735; married at the Collegiate Church, 7th April, 1760, to Sir John Parker Mosley, baronet (high sheriff, co. Lancaster, 1785), and died 15th October, 1797.

(8) James Bayley, baptised 5th July, 1737; buried at St. Anne's.

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* Rawstorne's *Royal Lancashire Militia*, p. 119.

† Piccope MSS., xv. 233. ‡ Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, i. 305.

(9) Rev. James Bayley, baptised 28th February, 1740; educated at Manchester Grammar School; matriculated at Oxford (Brazenose College) 23rd February, 1759, aged eighteen; B.A. 1762, M.A. 1765.* Died 13th November, 1808, and buried at Collegiate Church. Married at Collegiate Church, 11th February, 1771, Frances, daughter of Richard Broome. She was baptised at St. Anne's, 27th June, 1744; died 6th June, 1813 s.p.; buried in Collegiate Church.

(10) John Bayley, baptised 31st March, 1741, check manufacturer in Manchester. d.s.p.

(11) Jane Bayley, baptised 5th July, 1743; died unmarried.

(12) Appylina or Appolonia Bayley, baptised 18th September, 1744. Her Christian name of Appolonia she derived from her maternal grandmother's family, the Brownes, of Shredicote, members of the family having for several generations borne it. Appolonia was married first on 7th January, 1765, to James Moss, of Manchester, lord of the manor of Little Bolton (he died 1769). She married, secondly, at Collegiate Church, 4th February, 1772, to the Rev. Giles Fairclough Haddon, D.D., rector of Stepney, and died on the 1st April, 1773.

(13) Frances Bayley, baptised 14th August, 1746, and married at Prestwich, 23rd December, 1764, to Sir Ashton Lever, knight, of Alkrington (high sheriff, co. Lancaster, 1771), collector of the Leverian Museum. Lady Lever was buried at Prestwich, 27th July, 1802.

(14) Arabella, baptised 29th September, 1747; buried at St. Anne's, 16th July, 1748.

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* Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, i. 78.

BAYLEY OF BOOTH HALL.

[1.] Samuel Bayley, of Manchester (son of James Bayley, senior), was born 31st December, 1717, and was a linen draper. He was appointed a trustee of Cross Street Chapel in 1746, and died 5th March, 1778, aged sixty years, and is buried at Cross Street.* He married, first, at Blackley Chapel, 1741, Esther, daughter of James Diggles, of Manchester, merchant. She died 12th September, 1758, and is buried with her husband. Samuel Bayley married, secondly, at the Collegiate Church, 28th April, 1761,† Esther, daughter of Robert Hibbert, of Manchester, who died 27th December, 1772, aged fifty-eight, and was buried at St. Anne's,‡ leaving no children. The issue of Samuel's first marriage was

(1) Thomas Bayley, of whom presently.

(2) Hannah Bayley, married — Edge, of Manchester.

(3) James Bayley, died March, 1745, aged one,
(4) John Bayley, died October, aged one, } buried at Cross Street.‖

(5) Sarah Bayley, married at Collegiate Church, December, 1773, Cornelius Metcalfe, wine merchant,§ son of the Rev. Thomas Metcalfe, of Kirby Overblow. Mr. Cornelius Metcalfe lived in France from 1791 to 1795. In 1793, he, his wife, and three daughters were arrested and imprisoned at Rouen, under a decree by which all British subjects residing in France should be imprisoned and their property confiscated for the benefit of the republic.¶

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* Baker's *Memorials.* † John Owen.
‡ *Manchester City News Notes and Queries*, 1885.
‖ John Owen. § Whitaker's *Craven*, new edition.
¶ Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees.*

(6) James Bayley, of Brown Street, Manchester, second surviving son, was educated at Warrington Academy, and was a member of the first committee for the establishment of the Academy at Manchester. He was a cotton merchant, being head of the firm of J. Bayley and Son, which dissolved partnership in 1804. James Bayley was named a trustee of Cross Street Chapel in all the trust deeds from 1782 to 1840.* In his latter years he lived at Southport. He married at Collegiate Church, 3rd June, 1776,† Margaret Hodgson. She died June 18th, 1793, aged thirty-seven, and was buried at Cross Street,† and had issue:—

i. Samuel Bayley, the younger, of Manchester, merchant and banker. He was educated at Manchester Academy, and was appointed a trustee of Cross Street Chapel in 1802, 1809, 1821, and 1828,‡ and ensign of the Manchester and Salford Volunteers, 1797.§ His wife was Harriet Anne, daughter of Richard Walker, of Manchester, and he had, with other issue—

Francis Bayley, of Ardwick (youngest son), who died 27th September, 1839.

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* Baker's *Memorials.* † John Owen. ‡ Baker's *Memorials.*

§ Mr. Samuel Bayley was the victim of an audacious highway robbery. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1813, p. 175, gives this account of the circumstance:

"Feb. 6.—Between seven and eight o'clock, as Mr. Samuel Bayley, cotton merchant, was riding towards home, on the Rusholme road, he was suddenly entangled by a rope, stretched across the road, for the purpose of robbery. His mare was upon a sharp canter, and he was in a moment swept off her back, and instantly seized by four men, who told him if he made any resistance they would shoot him. They proceeded to rifle him of his property, and told him to proceed and make no alarm, or his life should pay for it. He endeavoured in vain to recover his mare, but she found her way home alone, about six o'clock next morning."

ii. James Bayley [? died at Hotwells, Bristol, 18th June, 1791].

iii. Frances, daughter of John Barlow, of Middlethorpe.

iv. Margaret, died January, 1825, aged forty-one, buried at Cross Street.

[2.] Thomas Bayley, of Booth Hall (which he inherited from his maternal uncle, John Diggles) and of Manchester, merchant, was born in 1740. He was a trustee, from 1778 to 1817, of Cross Street Chapel, and for several years chapel treasurer. He died 22nd November, 1817, aged sixty-eight. Thomas Bayley married at the Collegiate Church, 18th November, 1773, Mary, daughter of William Kennedy, of Manchester, fustian manufacturer. She died 11th January, 1808, having had:—

(1) Samuel Bayley, baptised 23rd August, 1774. A merchant in Manchester, and afterwards a member of the London Stock Exchange; trustee of Cross Street Chapel. Died at Exeter 25th July, 1854, aged eighty.

(2) Mary Bayley, born 25th November, 1775; married 27th June, 1803, at the Collegiate Church, to William Henry, M.D., of Manchester; and died at Haffield, Ledbury, 25th November, 1837.

(3) Esther Bayley, born 1st March, 1777; married at Collegiate Church, 24th September, 1812, to Thomas Potter, merchant, afterwards Sir Thomas Potter, knight, first mayor of Manchester. Lady Potter died 19th June, 1852. Her two sons were Sir John Potter, M.P., and Thomas Bayley Potter, M.P.

(4) William Kennedy Bayley. See below.

(5) John Diggles Bayley, born 1781; captain, St. George's

battalion, Manchester Volunteers, 6th September, 1803; merchant in Manchester; died 1848.

(6) Sarah Bayley, born 1783.

(7) Thomas Diggles Bayley, of Cape Coast Castle, born 1784; died in London 30th April, 1831. His widow, Harriet, married, 3rd August, 1831, Lieutenant E. G. Palmer, R.N.

(8) Gilbert Bayley, born 1786; died 1810.

(9) Elizabeth, born 1787; died 1846.

(10) Ann, born 1789.

(11) Robert Riddell Bayley, of Basinghall Street, London, and Frimley, Surrey, born 1791; died 29th February, 1852, aged sixty.

[3.] William Kennedy Bayley, born 1778; was a student at the Manchester Academy from 1794 to 1796; died in Jamaica, 1806; married, 19th January, 1803, Isabel, daughter of John Russell, of Liverpool, and had issue.

[4.] William Kennedy Bayley, of Lincoln's Inn, barrister-at-law, born in Jamaica.*

Appendix II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE LANCASHIRE-BORN BAYLEYS.

Cornwall Bayley.

Epigrammata Numismate annuo dignata et in curia Cantabrigiensi recitata, A.D. 1802. Auctore Cornwall Bayley, Coll. Christ. 8vo, pp. 4.

Henry Vincent Bayley.

(1) 1802. Oratio Priore Praemiorum Senioribus Baccalaureis Annuo Propositorum Donata et In curia Cantabrigiensi recitata A.D. 1802. Mancunii Excudebant C. Wheeler et Filius. 4to, pp. 13

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* A pedigree of the Bayleys, of Booth Hall, appears in Booker's *Blackley Chapel*, p. 38.

Note.—The dedication is as follows: Memoriæ Patris desideratissimi hoc qualecunque opusculum ipsius jussu conscriptum dicari voluit pietatis ergo auctor filius. H. V. B.

(2) 1803. A Sermon preached at an Ordination held in the Cathedral Church of Chester, September 25th, 1803. By the Rev. H. V. Bayley, A.M., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Chester. Manchester: Printed by C. Wheeler and Son. 8vo, pp. [iv] 16. Matt. xi. 5.

(3) 1826. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Stow, at the Visitation in May, 1826. By Henry Vincent Bayley, D.D., Archdeacon of Stow. Gainsborough, printed for the author, by Adam Stark. MDCCCXXVI. 8vo, pp. 49.

(4) 1827. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Stow at the Visitation in May, 1826. By Henry Vincent Bayley, D.D., Archdeacon of Stow. Gainsborough, printed by Adam Stark. MDCCCXXVII. 8vo, pp. 51.

A Memoir of Henry Vincent Bayley, D.D. [By C. W. Le Bas.] Printed for Private Circulation. 1846. 8vo, pp. 66.

THOMAS BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY.

(1) 1772. On a cheap and expeditious method of draining land. Hunter's *Georgical Essays*, vol. iv. 1772. And reprinted in later edition of 1803, vol. i., p. 492-502.

(2) 1773. Observations on the general Highway and Turnpike Acts passed in the Seventh year of His present Majesty; and also upon the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, who were appointed upon the twenty-eighth of April, 1772, to consider the above acts. London: Printed for Joseph Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCLXXIII. 8vo.*

(3) 1790. A Charge delivered to the Grand Jury on the opening of the New Bayley Court House, at the Quarter Sessions at Manchester, April 22nd, 1790. By Thomas B. Bayley. Manchester. 1790. 4to, pp. 14.

(4) 1794. Rules, Orders, and Bye-Laws for the Government of the House of Correction and Penitentiary house (commonly called the New Bayley Prison). 1794. 4to, pp. 19.

Signed by Thos. B. Bayley, Chairman, and other magistrates.

(5) 1795. Plans and Descriptions of Single-Horse Carts, communicated to Thomas B. Bayley, Esq., by Dr. James Anderson and the Rev. Thomas Gisborne; and printed by Order of the General Meeting of the Agricultural Society at Manchester, August 3rd, 1795, for the use of the Members of the Society. Manchester, Printed at G. Nicholson and Co.'s Office, Palace-street. 1795. 8vo, pp. 16.

With additions by Bayley.

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* Transcript of title kindly supplied by Dr. Garnett, of the British Museum.

(6) 1795. Thoughts on the Necessity and Advantages of Care and Œconomy in collecting and preserving different Substances for Manure. (Addressed to the Members of the Agricultural Society of Manchester.) [By T. B. Bayley.] Likewise, the Report of the Committee of the Board of Agriculture, respecting Mr. Elkington's Mode of Draining, etc. Manchester, Printed at G. Nicholson and Co.'s Office, 4, Palace-Street. 1795. 8vo, pp. 18.

(6) 1796. Thoughts on the Necessity and Advantages of Care and Œconomy in collecting and preserving different Substances for Manure. Addressed to the Members of the Agricultural Society of Manchester, October the 12th, 1795. By Thomas B. Bayley, F.R.S., and Honorary Member of the Board of Agriculture in London. The Second Edition, with Additions. Manchester, printed and sold by George Nicholson, 9, Spring-Gardens; sold also by T. Knott, 47, Lombard-Street, London; and by all other booksellers. 1796. 8vo, pp. 23.

(7) 1799. Thoughts [etc., as in second edition]. The Third Edition, with Additions. Manchester: Printed by C. Wheeler and Son, Cannon-street; of whom it may be had, and of Mess. Clarke, Booksellers, in the Market-Place. 1799. 8vo, pp. 24.

Biographical Memoirs of the late Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., F.R.S., &c., &c., of Hope Hall, near Manchester. [By Thomas Percival, M.D.] . . . Manchester: Printed by W. Shelmerdine and Co. 1802. Sm. 4to, pp. 12.

Reprinted, with slight addition, in Dr. T. Percival's Works. Vol. ii. Bath. 1807. p. 287 to 305, 8vo.

William Butterworth Bayley.

(1) 1802. On the advantages to be derived from an academical institution in India; considered in a moral, literary, and political point of view. By Mr. W. B. Bayley. *Essays by the Students of the College of Fort William, in Bengal.* Calcutta. 1802. 8vo, pp. 35 to 46.

(2) 1802. Thesis pronounced at the Disputation in the Hindoostanee Language on the Sixth of February, 1802. By Mr. W. B. Bayley. *Essays*, &c., pp. 207 to 220.

Translation of the foregoing Thesis Position The Hindoostanee is the most generally useful language in India. *Essays*, &c., pp. 220 to 228.

(3) 1823. A faithful history of the late discussions in Bengal, on the power of transportation without trial, assumed as a right by the supreme Government of India, to be exercised on any Englishman who may honestly avail himself of the Freedom of the Press, as by law established, with copies of the Official Correspondence between W. B. Bayley. Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, and Mr. Buckingham, the late Editor of the *Calcutta Journal.* Calcutta, February 25th, 1823. Sm. fol., pp. 228.

RIBCHESTER.

BY WILLIAM HENRY HEATHCOTE, M.C.S.

RIBCHESTER is an irregularly-built, quiet village (the natives call it a town) on the banks of the Ribble, eight miles to the north-east of Preston. There is nothing of interest in the village itself. Mr. Charles Hardwick (in his *Ramble from Lytham to Ribchester*) quaintly remarks: "It is chiefly remarkable at the present day for two grotesque carvings in wood, purporting to represent a black and a white bull. It is not yet decided by connoisseurs which of the specimens of public-house sculpture at Ribchester, or the one which adorns the neighbouring village of Longridge, is the most remarkable for taste and execution; the thing is, however, not of much consequence, as it is believed the said bulls (evidently Irish) owe their existence to one and the same genius, who studied animal form (?) and wielded his chisel somewhere in the neighbourhood of the 'trough of Bolland.'" They must, however, be seen to be appreciated.

Near the Roman Catholic chapel there is a very curious and grotesque-looking building, the Styd almshouses; they were founded and maintained by the Sherburnes until 1720, when Styd and the neighbouring property passed to the

Walmesleys, of Showley, who have since borne the expense of maintaining the five old women occupants of this pagoda-like structure.

About half a mile to the east of Ribchester is Styd church, or "Old Styd," as it is familiarly called, one of the most interesting as well as of the oldest ecclesiastical buildings in North Lancashire. It is evident from the mixture of styles that the church was built in the transition period from the Norman to Early English, or the latter part of the twelfth century. It is a very plain building, at first sight appearing more like a barn than a church, being only eighteen yards long by nine broad. It contains a nave without aisles, and has neither tower nor belfry. The north door, which is now built up, has a circular arch, with zigzag ornaments. The southern door (the one now used) is evidently of later date than the north side, consisting of clustered columns with foliated capitals, surmounted by an arch of Early English architecture. On the west side are the remains of a staircase, at the head of which is a doorway, now blocked up, which led to a western gallery not now in existence; no doubt the gallery led to the hospital or preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers, with which building the church was connected. It was sometimes called "hospitale subtus Langrigh." There is not a vestige of the hospital remaining.

In the churchyard is the base of an ancient column and one or two interesting tombstones. The inside of the church is very plain; the roof is supported by unwrought rafters, on one of which is carved IHS and on the other a simple rosette. The old oak pulpit, which has no reading desk, stands on a stone pedestal; directly over this a portion of a chain hangs from the roof. It perhaps had a suspended canopy at one time. A plain oak screen sets apart a portion of the church for a chancel. In the chancel is an ancient pew, which may have belonged to the master

of the hospital. For many years service has been conducted in Old Styd once a month, but, prior to this, service had been held twice a year since the Reformation.

The main centre of interest to the antiquary visiting Ribchester is the site of the Roman camp, Bremetonacum. Although the only outward sign of this once powerful centre of civilisation is the vallum on the south-west side, excavations on one hand and the river Ribble on the other have laid bare the rich hoard of antiquities covered by the accumulated soil of fifteen hundred years. It was the concluding words of a paper, by the late W. Thompson Watkin, on Ribchester, read before the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society, in 1877-8, that induced the Rev. J. Shortt, the honorary curator of our local (Preston) museum, to make excavations a few months ago. Mr. Watkin concluded: "I have thus, I hope, laid before the society sufficient evidence of the extreme richness of the site of Ribchester, and doubtless the use of the pick and spade only is required to multiply that evidence tenfold."

Owing to the lack of funds, these last excavations have been confined to determining the exact area of the camp, and, as will be seen from the plans, with fairly satisfactory results. The first trench was dug on the west side of the churchyard, between the fosse (which is quite distinct, although eighteen centuries have elapsed since it was dug) and the churchyard wall. The top of the wall was reached at a depth of three feet from the surface. This was the same portion which was uncovered in 1850 for the meeting of the British Archæological Association. There are only two feet of the wall remaining, the rest of the stonework having been used no doubt for the walls and buildings in the district. The wall is four feet six inches thick, and is composed of rough boulders. At four feet from the base of the wall, and level with the original floor of the camp, oak

shingles were discovered; they are laid at right angles to the wall, and are set a few inches apart; they lie between two beds of clay. The order of the soil downwards is mould, stiff clay about three feet thick, oak shingles, stiff clay one foot thick, sand and gravel. The fact of the clay lying over the remains is very curious. I noted the same thing on the top of the Roman road which I laid bare last winter on the Frenchwood side of the Ribble, leading down to Walton. The shingles are laid without any tie beams, except at the gateway at the north angle, where there are four thick oak sleepers set about eighteen inches apart, lying at right angles to and under the shingles. The shingles were laid six or seven inches apart, and extend in regular succession for an unknown distance. Some of the villagers say they are to be found all over the ground within the rampart. The whole floor of the camp may have been "paved" with these riven shingles, though there was much better flooring material close at hand in the shape of sand and gravel from the river, and one would naturally think the latter would be much better than the tenacious clay. The second trench was also cut on the west side of the churchyard, and was fifty-nine feet long by six broad; it commenced on the edge of the fosse, and was continued inwards; the wall was reached at twenty-five feet from the fosse, and was six feet thick; the shingles extended from the foot of the wall, the first and second rows were about four feet long, and the third row from eight feet to fourteen feet. The third trench was cut just within the churchyard, three feet from the churchyard wall; the wall was found fifteen inches below the surface, and was six feet six inches thick, with a "set off" at the inner base two feet wide and fifteen inches high. Four hundred and ninety-six feet from the south-western wall another trench was sunk, the wall being reached three feet from the surface and eleven feet from the edge of

the fosse; a rough, single layer of boulder paving extended from the wall inwards fifteen feet. Three feet below this, and extending *right under the wall* was a layer of burnt timber and clay six inches thick. The fifth trench was dug across the northern angle of the camp. Here the wall was found to be six feet thick and two feet six inches from the surface. At a depth of five feet three inches the shingles were again found, six feet long and extending from the edge of the wall at right angles. Instead of clay, the shingles were set on the old gravel, but there was the alluvial clay *on the top*. In cutting this trench, the western corner of the gateway was found; the next trench was therefore cut so as to meet No. 5 trench on the inner side of the walls. In this cutting the most interesting and important discovery was made. The rude oak gatepost was found, still standing five feet above the level of the floor, which, on this side of the gateway (the east), was composed of oak planks laid contiguous to each other; immediately below the planks was a thin layer of gravel, then a layer of a dark peaty matter, the two measuring nine inches in thickness; under this were found four massive oak sleepers, set about two feet apart, and almost on a line with the north-west wall. On the top of the planks was laid another nine-inch layer of the dark matter and shingles. I think this dark matter is charred wood, &c., and that the gateway has been roofed over with shingles and thatch; this, being set on fire at the final departure of the Romans, would fall to the earth, where it would be gradually covered up, and thus preserved until the present day. The whole of the gateway was uncovered by trench No. 8, and the shingles were found to extend both inside and outside the gate, which was fourteen feet wide.

The wall in the seventh trench was only four feet nine inches wide, showing that the north-east and the south-west walls were two feet less in thickness than the north-west

wall, independent of the two feet "set off" on the inside. It would be interesting to know whether there is a gateway in the west angle of the camp. [Since this paper was written a trench has been cut across the western angle of the camp and the gateway uncovered. It is only seven feet wide—half the width of the north gateway.] No. 2 trench is about sixteen feet too far south. The only other Roman station with the gateways in the angle, as far as I can make out, is *Anderida*, Pevensey. The extreme length from the outside of the east wall to the outside of the west wall is six hundred and eleven feet. This is shorter by one hundred and eighty-nine feet than has been generally supposed. Stukeley and others give the length as eight hundred feet. I have always been given to understand that Ribchester was founded in the time of Agricola, 78 to 85 A.D., but this, I think, I can prove to be incorrect. During these last excavations, a coin (identified by Mr. Evans) of Nerva was found in such a position *in the rampart* that it could only get there when the rampart was made. This will give us a date not later than 98 A.D. Very few coins have been found, and all but the one already mentioned quite illegible. There was the usual mass of broken pottery consisting of fragments of Samian ware, one large fragment of an ornamental jar of Upchurch ware, with a band running round ornamented with a double row of finger-nail marks, amphoræ, &c. I show a few pieces of the Samian ware and glass, and one piece of pottery which I fancy has been intended to imitate the Samian ware. I have not been able to make out the small perforated hoof-shaped stone. Can it have been an amulet? I also show a small bronze ring and a perforated bronze object which I conjecture has been part of a horse trapping. There are a few articles preserved at the Rectory, among them I noticed a fine bronze key three inches long (fig. 1), a curious bronze pin (fig. 2), a large piece of molten bronze, a very stout octa-

Fig 1.

Fig 2.

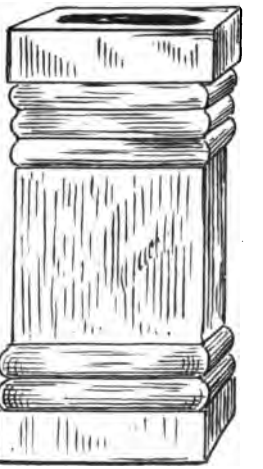

Fig 5.

Fig 3.

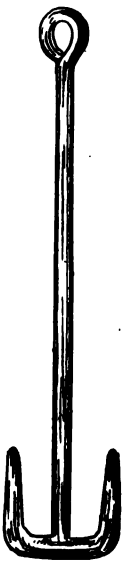

Fig 4.

Fig 6.

Fig 7.

OBJECTS FOUND AT RIBCHESTER

(SEE PAGES 234-5).

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gonal iron spike five and a half inches long (fig. 3). I cannot make out what the iron anchor-like implement (eight and a half inches long) has been (fig. 4). The altar (fig. 5) is one Mr. Dixon found built into a wall; unfortunately it has no inscription. The size is twenty-four inches by eleven inches by seven and a half inches. He also has the base of a bowl stamped with the potter's mark, PECVLIARIS . F. This is similar to three found in London and one at Chichester. Another piece is a rim of mortarium stamped RIVS CICO. This potter's mark is *new* to Britain. In one of the trenches the skeleton of a horse was found, some of the pieces of leather harness being fairly well preserved. There is a piece preserved in the Preston Museum, stuck full of bronze studs without any attempt at order or design. Two bronze implements were found (figs. 6 and 7) which Mr. Evans thinks were used respectively for cutting and piercing leather. Two spherical beads, about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, were found in the vicar's garden, one of them of striped blue glaze ware and the other of dark blue striped glass.

Many querns have been found. In my own collection I have a fine one, very similar to the one at Tabley Old Hall, and three or four fragments of others. A very fine one was found near the gateway in these last excavations. Further excavations, carried on "inside and outside" the walls, would doubtless make a good return for the outlay. The great part of the cost of this excavation was borne by the Rev. J. Shortt, the *Preston Herald* subscribing one-fifth of the full amount.

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 11th, 1889.

THE monthly meeting was held in the reading-room of Chetham's College. Mr. W. E. A. Axon presided.

The following new members were elected: Miss E. C. Abraham, Grassendale Park; Miss Hornby, Stockport; Mr. W. J. Redford, Bolton; and the Rev. C. E. Little, Old Trafford.

Mr. William Harrison read a paper on Ribchester, which had been contributed by Mr. W. H. Heathcote, and which was illustrated by plans, Roman pottery, bronze implements, &c. (see p. 229).

The Rev. E. F. Letts considered Ribchester to be a remarkably interesting spot for the antiquary to visit. In the graveyard of the church there were many Roman remains. He remarked upon the dilapidated condition of the church, and suggested that a visit to Ribchester by the Society might produce some useful result.

Mr. Moorhouse exhibited a fine example of Samian ware which he had found at Ribchester.

Mr. G. Esdaile described by means of plans and the ordnance survey map a conjectural camp which he thought would represent that which had existed at Ribchester.

Mr. George Esdaile then read a paper on "Evidences of Christianity in the Northern Counties of England in the Fourth Century" (see p. 108).

Dr. Colley March, in the course of a short discussion on the subject, considered that the whole argument rested on the use of the word "Vetus." He thought the word was used as referring to the gods of yore that had never been superseded. If the altars were erected by the Romans to supersede former altars to the Christian God, he thought they would have been able to find evidence of the fact somewhere.

The Rev. E. F. Letts agreed with the remarks of Dr. March, and did not think that the altars were put up to show the triumph of the heathens over Christianity.

Mr. R. Langton and the Chairman also spoke; and Mr. Esdaile, in reply, again referred to Cæsar's use of the word "Vetus." He could not but think that the altars were erected to celebrate the victory of the heathen cult over Christianity, or were the outcome of the attempt by Diocletian and Maximian to delete Christianity.

Mr. Esdaile brought before the Society an entry in Titus Livius Burratinus, with an engraving from which it might be seen that at a distance of about one hundred and twenty-five feet from the present base of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, there are, or were, on two sides of such bases, flights of steps leading to the subterranean crypts, through or by means of which the mummies were taken in. Considering that this was of sufficient importance to be alluded to, Mr. Esdaile had copied the letterpress and made a tracing, and sent them to Mr. Flinders Petrie, in Egypt.

Friday, January 25th, 1889.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting was held in the reading-room of Chetham's College, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presided.

Mr. G. C. Yates, honorary secretary, read the Annual Report of the Council.

Mr. W. A. Copinger, F.S.A., presented the Balance Sheet for the year.

The Reports, on the motion of Mr. Carr, seconded by Mr. Cecil Potter, were adopted.

The election of officers for the ensuing year was then taken, the following gentlemen taking office:—

President:

Sir WILLIAM CUNLIFFE BROOKS, Bart., M.P., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES.
The LORD EGERTON OF TATTON.
Professor W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S.
WILLIAM E. A. AXON, F.R.S.L.
Professor A. W. WARD, Litt. D., LL.D.

Council:

C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.
W. A. COPINGER, F.S.A.
J. P. EARWAKER, F.S.A.
GEORGE ESDAILE.
GILBERT J. FRENCH.
WILLIAM HARRISON.
NATHAN HEYWOOD.
ROBERT LANGTON, F.R.H.S.
The Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
H. COLLEY MARCH, M.D.
ALBERT NICHOLSON.
J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.
GEORGE PEARSON.
The Rev. J. H. STANNING, M.A.
CHARLES W. SUTTON.

Treasurer: THOMAS LETHERBROW.
Honorary Secretary: GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

At the close of the formal business,

The Chairman (Mr. Axon) delivered an address. He said: Some, I believe, have divided all knowledge into the useful and the useless; and for my own part I am in considerable doubt as to which of the two departments is the more interesting, and which is the more useful. Matthew Arnold, in one of his best known poems, places in the mouth of one of his characters these words:—

Look, the world tempts our eye,
And we would know it all!
We map the starry sky,
We mine this earthen ball,
We measure the sea tides, we number the sea sands;

We scrutinize the dates
Of long past human things,
The bounds of effaced states,
The lines of deceased kings;
We search out dead men's words, and works of dead men's hands.

In that concluding passage the poet, so eminently the poet of the modern spirit, has accurately indicated the scope of antiquarian study. I think our own locality, Lancashire and Cheshire, and even the more restricted district round Manchester, is one, if it be not paradoxical to say it, that affords special facilities and special opportunities for antiquarian study. Manchester, as a community, covers the whole space of English civilisation and English history. The prehistoric antiquary finds here ample scope for his investigations and speculations as to the past times of our ancestors. The Roman civilisation extended to this neighbourhood, and in this Society a considerable amount of investigation has been devoted to Roman antiquities. When we passed from the Roman domination to the domination of the Saxon and the Dane and the Norman; we had a busy and an active life in the whole period of the Middle Ages. Perhaps Manchester, in the history of its institutions, is as interesting as any community that can be found, because, whilst we have never had a mediæval corporation, and whilst we never had strong and powerful guilds, yet we had in a crude form all the elements of an active, vigorous, and self-contained local life. Manchester in the Middle Ages was an example of an industrial and commercial town, existing without the usual machinery for the government of its trade, but then, as now, it formed part of a sort of inner circle, a kingdom within a kingdom—the palatine county of Lancaster, with law courts and other institutions independent in their jurisdiction from those of the nation at large. Again, within the borders of the county was the Great Honour of Clitheroe, an instance of what might almost be called a principality existing in a large measure apart from the general scheme of the government of the palatine county. Then our ecclesiastical history is one of great interest.

The county has, of course, had its ecclesiastical institutions from the earliest time, and it has been a place distinguished by the vigour of the religious life which has permeated it. It has been a place where the Church of Rome has had strong adherents, and a place which has been distinguished in the history of the Reformation and in the annals of dissent. While speaking of this, I should, for one, be very glad to see that every religious community and every religious society, every church and every chapel, should have its own printed record of its history from the beginning. Several churches have already done this. Such histories are matters of exceeding interest, and some of them could easily be done now, but if not done very quickly cannot possibly be done at all. Therefore I think we should look with great favour upon such monographs, and encourage records of the history of places, of churches and institutions, so that no organised body for any public purpose whatever shall exist amongst us or pass away without what it has done for the community being fairly set down. Then we are in the midst of a busy commercial centre; and I do not know of any branch of archæology in which there is more to be done than with reference to the history of commerce. The methods of early commerce in this country are still exceedingly obscure in many respects, and require very accurate and painstaking investigation. Where should that be more appropriately undertaken than here—by the members of an Antiquarian Society that recruits itself largely from the commercial community? We want more inquiry and investigation with regard to the history of manufacture, the various methods by which they have been changed and transformed by the introduction of new machinery, by the introduction of processes from one branch of industry into others, by the adoption of new ideas, and by the bringing into this country and district of refugees from other countries. These are matters of interest, and their study would give fresh pleasure to commercial pursuits. Let each person engaged in a trade

or industry know its past history and the changes it has undergone. There would be a practical value also in this study. There is the great question of the organisation of industry, another branch of what we may call social archæology that has not yet been worked out in anything like satisfactory detail. Another branch of antiquarian study, heraldry, has come before us occasionally. Lord Sherbrooke once said that he could sympathise with all forms of knowledge, and all had their uses, except heraldry. I will not even draw this distinction. As to the cognate study of genealogy, that has always been an interesting object of research. Whether we laugh at it or despise it, or value it, we certainly all take an interest in genealogy—in the history of our forefathers. The study of genealogy, however, is not merely of antiquarian interest, but has a specific scientific value. A friend of mine declares his belief that three-fourths of human character is due to hereditary influence, and the other fourth to the environment and the cultivation of the individuality. However that may be, I am glad to see that genealogy is now pursued in a scientific spirit. One part of our Society's work seems to be that of biography. The county worthies should not be forgotten. We have had in Lancashire and Cheshire a long and distinguished line of men and women who have deserved well of the community. Some of these have passed into an unmerited oblivion, from which it would be a graceful and grateful act to rescue them. I think our Antiquarian Society should act as Old Mortality did when he was renovating so carefully the old and worn tombstones in the Scottish churchyards. We should try to revive the memories of bygone worthies who have done good for the district or the nation. This will be useful not only from an historical standpoint, but also for the sake of the influence which the record of a useful life will always exert upon successive generations. There is also the whole circle of domestic antiquities, in which a great deal still remains to be done, not only from an architectural point of view, but even in such little considered

matters as folk-lore. In this I think our Society might usefully show greater activity. I was much struck on receiving from an antiquarian friend in America a collection of the folk-lore and popular beliefs that are now current among the people of Philadelphia. Their interest lay not only in the quaintness of the beliefs, but also in the fact that a large number of them are current in Lancashire, and could be immediately recognised as belonging to the folk-lore of our own district. This identity can be explained in various ways. Some would, no doubt, be transmitted by emigrants, and others probably belong to the common stock of the folk-lore of the race to which both nations belong. There is also much that might be done by the Society in recording musical antiquities. Many of our old melodies are passing away, and ought to be preserved as a part of the history of the county. These are a few crude suggestions which I venture to lay before those members who have the time and interest to investigate the subjects touched upon. The summer meetings and excursions of the Society are doing a good work, and have a social as well as a scientific value. They give opportunities of getting away from the grimy town and of coming into actual contact with the antiquities studied. The physiologist is not content with text-books, but verifies their statements by dissection, and in the same way the antiquary must, as far as possible, see, handle, and examine the various objects archæology illustrates. This gives substance and reality to the study.

After a special vote of thanks to Mr. Yates for his services as honorary secretary, moved by Mr. H. H. Sales, and seconded by Mr. James Berry, had been cordially adopted, the meeting terminated.

Friday, February 8th, 1889.

A meeting was held in the Reading Room of Chetham's College.

The chair was occupied by Mr. W. E. A. Axon.

Mr. Albert Nicholson drew attention to the Stuart Exhibition now being held at the New Gallery, London.

Mr. Alexander Taylor exhibited photographs of Ribchester, taken by himself.

Dr. H. Colley March read a paper on the Archæology and Psychology of Ornament (see page 160). The paper was illustrated by over a hundred beautiful diagrams, executed by Mrs. March.

Mr. J. Holme Nicholson said that recent investigations of some of the so-called Runic crosses in the north of England showed that the ornamentation very often took the zoomorph form. On several of the crosses which he had seen were curious grotesque designs composed partly of representations of animal forms; but these, instead of being due only to the fancy of the sculptor, had been found in some cases to tell a very significant story, being, in fact, illustrations of the Norse Eddas.

The Chairman considered the paper of great importance, and one containing a great deal of original investigation. He suggested that the discussion be adjourned until the next meeting of the Society.

The Chairman read a short communication entitled "An Irish Analogue of Nixon's Prophecy" (see page 130.)

New members: Messrs. J. Joseph Jordan, J. Edge Partington, and Charles E. Thorneycroft.

Friday, March 1st, 1889.

A meeting was held in Chetham's College, Mr. Thomas Letherbrow in the chair.

Mr. George H. Rowbotham exhibited a drawing of the courtyard of the White Lion Inn, Long Millgate, and Mr. Letherbrow one of his own drawings of Peover Church, both of which were presented to the Society to insert in their scrapbook. Other local pictures were presented by Mrs. John Eglington Bailey.

MELANDRA CASTLE.

Mr. George Esdaile gave a report of finds at different times in the vicinity of Melandra, near Stockport. He said: Having by the kindness of Mr. Sam Bamforth had an introduction to Mr. Francis Hawke, representative of Lord Howard of Glossop, I went over to Glossop early in February last to see the various matters kept at Glossop Hall. These I found in a building which I took to be a coach-house, and they consisted of stones of three querns—one of them about sixteen inches diameter and about three inches thick, the other two of a conical shape, possibly to work in a very hollow bottom stone. There were several fossils consisting of parts of trees, twelve to fifteen inches long; portions of stone with shells of the ammonite tribe standing out in half relief and apparently shining like cast brass. There was also a stone about eighteen inches long, which viewed in cross section was like a mullion of a window, which it may have been. It was marked 60 in Arabic numerals, and weighed about as many pounds. It had an eye and ring at one end, evidently to suspend it by. There was one other matter which at first sight looked like a small altar, about six or seven inches high and five to five and a half broad, deeply hollowed out to hold about a pint and a quarter. It possibly had been a font. On the exterior were the letters E B and a date of the seventeenth century, with some devices at the top of the four sides. These were all found within the enclosure of Melandra during some excavations made by order of the late Lord Howard. The cuttings were carried across the area of the enclosure from side to side at a distance of about eight yards apart. Mr. Hawke said it was possible that many things had been retained by the workmen engaged. Mr. Hawke told me that Mr. Shepley, of the mills near Melandra, had found some remains many years ago. I called on Mr. Shepley, who stated that, when his back "race" was made, he found a stone coffin containing two coins, one of Domitian, and one

of Alex. Severus; that these had been "every where all over the world, for the inspection of the curious, but when sent to the Duchess of Norfolk for her to see they never came back." Mr. Shepley showed me a letter from Mr. J. Sutcliffe, of Ashton-under-Lyne, dated 1841, giving a reading of the inscription on the coins. I also heard of an inscribed stone, of which Mr. Bamforth is to make a drawing. I certainly think it is worth while to go again to this site, beginning at Hadfield, taking Melandra en route, and ending the excursion at Glossop Hall.

Dr. Colley March read a paper on the "Di Veteres of Britanno-Roman Altars" (see page 117).

The Rev. T. B. Johnstone, of Bolton, read a paper on the Early Evangelisation of Northumbria.

Friday, April 5th, 1889.

The monthly meeting was held as usual at the Chetham Library, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presiding.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a bronze medal "struck in commemoration of the meeting of the British Association held in Manchester and in honour of Dr. Dalton, by the proprietors of *Bradshaw's Journal*, June, 1842."

Mr. W. Waring Faulder exhibited a rapier found at Essex House, Derby. The weapon has always been connected with a visit of the Young Pretender to the house.

The Chairman announced that under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners which had been formulated for discharging certain duties of the old Corporation of Garstang, dissolved under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1883, the Society had to nominate a trustee to act with others. Such trustee they had to appoint at that meeting, and he moved the election of Mr. S. Jackson, of Calder Vale, Garstang, to that office. Mr. C. W. Sutton seconded, and the election was unanimous.

The Chairman, in calling the attention of the members to some rubbings of brasses lent for exhibition by Mr. Colpoys, of Hastings, read the following note by Mr. Ernest Axon on

THE WYTHENS BRASS AT BATTLE, CO. SUSSEX.

In the chancel of Battle Church there is a brass to the memory of Dr. John Wythens, a native of Cheshire and a former dean of Battle. The brass* represents a clergyman wearing a cap, gown, and ruff. In his right hand is a book into which he has inserted his first finger, and he has a ring on his thumb. Above his head is a coat of arms, which, of course, has no tinctures but appears to be identical with that granted by Dethick† on January 10th, 1593, to the London family of Wythens. From his head are two scrolls, the dexter one with the inscription "Tædet Animan meam vitæ meæ," and the sinister with "Cvpio dissolvi et esse cvm Christo." Under his feet there are two inscriptions, as follows:—

Hic jacet Johannes Wythines in præ
nobili Civitate Cestriæ natvs, et in
Academia Oxon edvcatvs, ibique Ænei
Nasi Collegij socivs, Sacræ Theologiæ
Doctor, Academieq Oxon Prædcæ
Vicecancellarivs, Hvivsq Ecclesiæ de
Battel xli annos Decanvs. Qvi obijt
xviii die Martij Anno ætatis svæ 84,
et salvtis Hvmanæ 1615.

Vixi dvm volvi volvi dvm Christe volebas
Nec mihi vita brevis nec mihi longa fvit
Vivo tibi moriorq tibi tibi Christe resurgam
Mortvvs et vivvs svm maneoq tvvs.

Of the subject of this brass very little is known beyond what is given on it. He was born at Chester, studied at Brasenose College, which he entered *circa* 1556‡ and of which he became a fellow. The dates of his matriculation and degrees in arts are not known, but Boase§ states that

* There is a poor engraving of the brass in Grose's *Antiquities*, 1773, vol. i., plate ix., and a rubbing in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 32490, 22).

† Hasted's *Kent*, i. 478. ‡ *Brasenose Calendar*, p. 3.

§ *Register of University of Oxford*, i. 268.

"John Withenes or Withens, M.A., supplicated for B.D., 25th February, $156\frac{6}{7}$, and was admitted 10th May, supplicating for D.D. in April, 1570, receiving licence 1570, and in June, 1570, obtaining a dispensation from his circuitus because the public prelector of theology was not at home last night when he went round (guando circuiret), and M. Bickley, inceptor of theology, is not allowed to depose for him because there is not a competent number of Doctors." He was incorporated D.D. 10th July, 1570. He was Dean of Battle from about 1573 till his death, but I do not find any other preferment unless he is the Dr. Wythens, vicar of Wantage, who is named in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1581-1590, p. 296. The brass states that he was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, but his name does not occur among the Vice-Chancellors in either Le Neve's *Fasti* or in the *Historical Register* of the University, and Wood,* after giving the date of his degree, says "which is all I know of him."

His conduct as a clergyman did not give universal satisfaction, as will be seen from the following document quoted by Horsfield,† from the Burghley Papers, Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum (No. 82, fol. 49). The paper is undated, but probably refers to about the period of the Armada: "D lies informcons of certaine abuses in Sussex. Popery since the L. Montague's coming to dwel at Battle, religion in that country, and especially in that towne, is greatly decayed, as may appear by these pointes. D. Witheris, Dean of Battle, where the La Montague lyeth, is suspected to be very backward in religion. For this two yeares and more, he neither ministreth the Comunion nor receaveth it, but comonly, if there be a comunion, he getteth some other to doe it, and either getteth himselfe out of the towne or keepeth his house. His wife cometh scarse twise a year to church, and receaveth not the Comunion; he hath a sonne and a daughter at man's estate, which never receaved the Comunion. His company which he keepeth is

* *Fasti*, i. 180. † *History of Sussex*, i. 532.

most with recusantes, especially one D. Gray and one N. Terry. The jurisdiction of the place is in the deane, wholly exempt from the Bishop's visitation, and is altogether neglected by him, so that they doe what they lest. There are many in the towne that never receave the comunion, and come very seldome at church." Wythens is here described as a married man with a grown family. It is probable that he was twice married, as his widow, Margery, is described as aged forty in the licence granted August 9th, 1621, for her marriage with Mr. Robert Robinson, aged twenty-four.*

The arms, borne with a crescent for difference, by Dr. Wythens, namely, *gu* a fess embattled erm, between three martlets *or*, and the crest—on a ducal coronet gu, a talbot sejant *erm*, collared and lined *or*, holding out the line with the dexter foot, were granted by Dethick to Alderman Robert Wythens,† of London, son of William Wythens, of the county of Chester. The alderman's son was Sir William Wythens, sheriff of Kent early in the reign of James I. The family appears to have become extinct in the male line on the death of Sir Francis Wythens, serjeant-at-law, who was associated with Jeffreys in the Bloody Assize, but was afterwards removed from the bench for not being sufficiently subservient to the king.

Dr. F. Renaud, F.S.A., read a paper founded on a contemporary Tudor manuscript relating to the suppression of monasteries between 1536 and 1547 (see p. 74).

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., gave "A Fresh Account of the Rebels in Manchester in 1745" (see p. 142).

Friday, April 26th, 1889.

Meeting held in Chetham College. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins presiding.

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* *Marriage Licences granted by the Bishop of London* (*Harleian Society*), p. 101.

† Le Neve's *Knights* (*Harleian Society*), p. 338.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes exhibited a collection of thirty-four antiquities, chiefly brooches and pins, found at Hoylake. The relics were sent by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, of London, by whom they will be given to the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon exhibited a local pamphlet, "The unfortunate shipwright or the cruel captain, being a faithful narrative of the unparalleled sufferings of Robert Baker, of Wigan." London, 1773.

Mr. A. Nicholson showed a copy of a brass in Macclesfield church.

ASHTON OLD HALL.

Mr. Axon drew attention to the efforts being made to do away with Ashton Old Hall, in order to form a goods siding for the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company. The hall was associated not only with the aristocratic family of the Greys (the Earls of Stamford and Warrington), but with the earlier race of Asshetons, noted alike for good and evil in connection with the history of the town. The legend of the Black Knight clung to the old hall, which had been chronicled alike by the historians and the romancers of Lancashire. It would be a thousand pities if a relic so interesting were to be destroyed, and he would point out as a happy precedent the case of the picturesque ruins of Rochester Castle, which were maintained by the corporation of that ancient city, and formed the centre of a pleasant recreation ground. Ashton Old Hall might not be favourably situated for such a purpose, but probably could be utilised as a museum. Those who had examined the treasures of the Manchester Art Museum, at Ancoats Hall, would know that it was quite possible to use such buildings for public educational purposes.

Professor Boyd Dawkins expressed a hope that speedy action would be taken. The example of Taunton and Nottingham showed that these ancient buildings could readily be used for the public good of modern times.

After some further conversation, in which Mr. G. C. Yates, Mr. W. Harrison, and others joined, the Society decided to

pay a visit to Ashton Old Hall on May 8th, and it was left to the council to make suitable representation as to the desirableness of its preservation.

Mr. W. Harrison called the attention of the members to the new volume, just issued, of the Selden Society, containing selections from the Rolls of Manorial and other Seignorial Courts in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., the earliest extant. The editor, Professor Maitland, had in the introduction made use of the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, by way of illustration, and had thus furnished another proof of the utility of printing these records.

Mr. Axon called attention to the Gawsworth mural paintings, discovered by J. F. A. Lynch, drawings of which had been presented to the Society by Mr. W. H. Guest.

Professor Dawkins referred to the antiquarian work of General Pitt Rivers, in his diggings at Rushmore, Cranborne Chase, Wiltshire. Much of what had been discovered seemed to be articles and antiquities used by the people of the bronze age.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read a paper on Unpublished Records of the Mosse Family of Skelmersdale during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

New members: Messrs. John William Lees, Harry Smithies, and Samuel Chorlton, and Mrs. Oxley.

Wednesday, May 8th, 1889.

ASHTON OLD HALL AND MANORIAL CORN MILLS.

The first summer meeting of the Society was held at Ashton-under-Lyne, when a party of the members visited the Old Hall, under the leadership of Mr. D. F. Howorth. The interest felt in this old baronial residence was considerably quickened by the apprehension that it may not be long left standing, the site being required by the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company, for the exten-

sion of their adjoining sidings and warehouses. The members were received and hospitably entertained by Mr. Henry Hall. No definite date can be assigned to the buildings, but portions still standing are evidently of great antiquity. Mr. Hall pointed out the towers and the ancient gateway, reputed to be Norman, and indicated the changes which had been made from time to time in the structure. A subterranean passage leading from the Hall to the buildings below had been discovered when the roadway was altered. No trace now remains of the moat or drawbridges, nor of the dungeon into which the lords threw the evil-doers among their vassals. The Hall with the manor belonged to the Assheton family, but came by marriage into that of the Booths of Dunham in Cheshire, who were ennobled after the Restoration with the title of Delamere. After the Restoration the second Baron Delamere was created Earl of Warrington. Male issue failing the title became extinct, and the property came by marriage into the Stamford family, in which it still remains. In the reign of Henry the Eighth the family residence had been transferred to Dunham, and from that time the Hall was allowed to get out of repair. The portion which had been used as a prison was for many years converted into tenements and let to poor people. In 1838 the whole was repaired, in order that it might be used as a shooting-box or temporary residence for the earl, and this purpose it served for many years.

The members having assembled inside the Hall, the chair was taken by Mr. Thomas Letherbrow, and the following paper was read by Mr. D. F. Howorth, on

WHAT ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE THOUGHT, IN 1688, OF THE REVOLUTION.

Ashton-under-Lyne in those anxious days was a quiet country town, but its people were not uninterested in the stirring events which were affecting the national history, and that some of its sons fought sturdily on the right side may very readily be believed. If, in imagination, we enter

the town about that time, say from its south side after descending the hill from Dukinfield, we shall cross the river Tame at the ford near which the bridge now stands. The river is beautifully clear, and noted for its fine trout, while it affords supply of good water to all who need. The ground in front of us and to our right hand rises from the river bank with rather precipitous ascent, yet well covered with growth of trees. Directly before us, on a spur of this bluff, stands the old mansion-house of the lords of the manor, while to our left hand orchard and park-like lands stretch alongside the stream to the distant corn mill, where the water power is used to grind the corn of all the tenants of the manor. The hall itself looks well able to withstand attack, and to afford protection, if need be, to the dwellers in the houses which cluster around it and occupy almost all the space now included in the churchyard. Over the roofs of these houses we see the church tower, from whose belfry come the rousing chimes at five o'clock in the morning, and the curfew toll at eight o'clock in the evening, and whence the wind bears over the parish notes of thanksgiving or of humiliation. In no regular order do the houses stand, but the lane leads on through them to the Market Cross and Manor Court House. Before arriving there we notice the road turning off in the direction of Yorkshire, now known as Currier Lane; while at the Cross itself there is another turn off to the right by a country road, now called Crickets Lane, to Hurst; while the street of houses continues for a short distance to the left until it melts into the road to Manchester. This, now known as Old Street, is a winding lane-like road from which a country lane turns off to Smallshaw, and another forms the road to Oldham, and one to the left is the lane down to the corn mill. Our interest, however, is rather in the town and its people; so we return, and as we retrace our steps admire the wild roses in the hedges and the promise of blackberries on the brambles and of fruit in the orchards. The town is not without its enterprising tradespeople, who issue their own tokens in

default of other small change, and there are fair hostelries, the "Boar's Head" (so called from his lordship's coat of arms) and others. On inquiry we find that the rectory, up Parsons Lane, is tenanted now by the Rev. Thomas Ellison, who succeeded to the living on the ejectment of his non-conforming predecessor, the Rev. John Harrison. It is said that Mr. Harrison still receives part of the income of the rector by arrangement between Mr. Ellison and the lord of the manor, in whom the gift of the living is vested. There is certainly much kindly feeling between the two, for Mr. Harrison still worships in the church whose pulpit he once occupied, and to his friends and fellow Nonconformists rehearses on Sunday evening in his own house the lessons which he has learnt from the morning or afternoon service at the parish church. The teaching, then, to which the parishioners listen from their rector must surely be such as to develop in their minds warm love of religious freedom, and to encourage no desire after that popery and priestism which has turned the heads of some of the great of the land. If we inquire further who is the lord of the manor to whom the town is indebted for so worthy a rector, we are told that Henry, Lord Delamere, whose principal seat is at Dunham Massey, now owns this great estate, almost exactly corresponding in area with the parish itself. Lord Delamere's is a name known all over the land, for he has undergone trials for his love of political and religious freedom. He was tried before Judge Jeffreys in 1686, at a time when the House of Lords was not sitting, and a court was constituted on Jeffreys' nomination of thirty peers all "vehemently opposed to the prisoner." Lord Delamere was accused of abetting Monmouth's rebellion. In spite of all, however, that king and judge could do against him Lord Delamere was acquitted; and, while the acquittal was a national blessing in showing that, as Lord Macaulay says, "The reign of terror was over; the innocent began to breathe freely, and false accusers to tremble," it may be taken for granted that Ashton-under-Lyne especially rejoiced. To

show, however, more fully the sympathy which the town evinced in the great national movement which displaced the arbitrary and popish king and restored constitutional government under King William III., I propose to give a few extracts from the accounts of the churchwardens and overseers of the parish for the year 1688 and 9 and 1691:

1688.	s.	d.
Itm. Pd & spent upon the Ringers when the Bishops were sett att liberty	2	6
Itm. given the Ringers in all upon my Ld Delamere return	1	0

This payment refers, I think, to the return of Lord Delamere and his tenantry from their armed resistance to King James. On November 16th "Delamere convoked his tenants, called upon them to stand by him, promised that if they fell in the cause their leases should be renewed to their children, and exhorted every one who had a good horse either to take to the field or to provide a substitute. He appeared at Manchester with fifty men armed and mounted, and his force had trebled before he reached Bowden Downs" (*Macaulay*, vol. ii., p. 506). Lord Delamere was one of the three chosen by William of Orange to convey orders to King James to depart from London. The king retired to Rochester, whence, on December 22nd, he escaped to France. On the 22nd January, a Convention Parliament met, and the throne having first been declared vacant, William and Mary accepted the offered crown, and were proclaimed February 14th, 1688-9. These national events are recognised in the churchwardens' accounts, &c., thus:—

Itm. Pd to the Ringers for Ringing upon the thanksgiving day, being the 14th day of Feb: last past	6	0	
Itm. Pd for the booke of prayere for the thanksgiving day for deliverance of nation from Arbitrary power		3	
Itm. Pd for an order for Altering the book of Common Prayer Aboute [the prayers for] King Willm and Queene Mary		8	
1689.			
Itm. Pd for Ringinge on the Coronation day	2	6	
Itm. given in Ale to the Ringers that day	1	0	
Itm. Pd for A booke of Prayers for the fast		6	

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

.....old Stocks and Cross
from History of Ashton, by Baines
The Old Market Cross
from an engraving dated 1829.
taken down 1829
The Jailers Chapel. 1795 from Aikin.
After sketch by T. Barritt. made about 1810.
South west view of Ashton Hall with the ancient Keeps Tower

The day of coronation was April the 11th, and the fast day was in the following March, when King James was about to depart to Ireland.

1691.

Itm. Pd to the ringers for ringing upon defeate of the Irish Army - 4 6
Given them in Ale that day - - - - - - - - - 1 6

The Battle of the Boyne was fought on the 1st July, 1690.

Itm. Pd for ringinge upon the news of Limberick being surrendered 3 6

By the surrender of Limerick, which endured siege from August 25th to October 3rd, 1691, an end was put to James's authority in every part of the empire; for although he had left England for so long, and had fled from Ireland almost immediately after the Battle of the Boyne, his authority there did not immediately cease.

The above extracts, together with the known characters of the lord of the manor and the rector of the parish, prove, I think, that the townspeople of Ashton-under-Lyne were not insensible to the great movements for religious and political freedom in which our other ancestry of two hundred years ago took part.

Mr. Hall exhibited to the members a view taken in 1777, which showed the hall in its then condition.* In answer to a question by Mr. A. Nicholson, Mr. Hall said that a portrait of Sir George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere, was preserved at Dunham Hall.

Mr. C. W. Sutton drew attention to a list of the "Protestors" of Ashton in 1641-2, a copy of which the late Mr. J. E. Bailey had in his possession. It forms what is practically a directory of the adult inhabitants of the town at the time. As Mr. W. A. Shaw subsequently pointed out, there were several "Protestations" or "Covenants" during the development of the dispute and before the opening of the

* This forms the centre of the interesting group of sketches of Ashton-under-Lyne, illustrating this volume, for which the Society is indebted to the skilful pencil of Mr. G. H. Rowbotham, a member of the Society.

Civil War. They were called "Covenants" in the Journals of Parliament, and foreshadow, though quite distinct from, the "Solemn League and Covenant." But that alluded to by Mr. Sutton passed the Lords on May 4th, 1641, having been started by Pym, in the Lower House, in consequence of the discovery of the so-called army plot. It was aimed entirely at Papists, and the oath ran thus: "I . . . do vow . . . to maintain the true reformed Protestant religion expressed in, &c." It would be expected that no Papist would take it; but it is apparent on the whole that it was looked upon as a test of civil allegiance, and in this sense and with this reservation of their consciences it was subsequently taken by the Catholic lords in the Upper House, when it was subsequently enacted by bill that it should be taken by all the subjects of the kingdom. It is likely that it was taken in this sense throughout the country, so that the lists preserved may be taken as a directory, including even the Catholics.

Mr. Letherbrow expressed the strong feeling entertained by the members of the Society that Ashton Hall should be saved from destruction. This feeling was emphasised by another member, and Mr. Hall said that a petition had been lodged against the railway company's bill. For his own part, as a trustee of the estate, he should be exceedingly sorry to see the old building disturbed.

The meeting closed with a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Hall for his courtesy and hospitality, moved by Mr. Letherbrow, and seconded by Mr. Esdaile.

Subsequently a few of the members visited the old manorial soke-mills on the banks of the river Tame. The mills, which were working until a very few years ago, are of great antiquity. There is documentary evidence of their existence in the year 1422, when, according to the Custom Roll and Rental of the Manor of Assheton-under-Lyne, dated in that year, John of the Edge was miller at a yearly rent of 16s. 4d., the mills being kept in repair by the lord. The same document informs us that one of the conditions under which the tenants of the manor held their tenements was that they

ground their corn at the lord's soke-mill subject to a grist or multure of one-sixteenth part of the grain. The mills, it is supposed, have never been rebuilt since 1422, and till recently the tenants' corn was ground there, payment, however, being made in money. They have now become somewhat dilapidated, and a portion, which was in a dangerous condition, has just been pulled down. What remains is now somewhat inaccessible, but, through the courtesy of Mr. Clarke, of the firm of Messrs. Clarke and Vaughan, the owners of the adjacent cotton mill, the members were enabled to reach the river, and to approach the mills from that side. It was then not difficult to get inside, and to obtain a view of the whole of the arrangements of the mill. The great wheel and shafts now motionless, the goits for the supply and outflow of water now empty and dry, and the shoots for the passage of the grain and flour, now the abodes of ever-accumulating dust, gave point to the contrast between the byegone and the present time. The river, diverted for centuries, has now been allowed to return to its original course. Its original purity, it is to be feared, will not be so easily regained.

The members who had visited the soke-mill returned from Dukinfield station, reaching Manchester before nine.

Saturday, June 1st, 1889.

MIDDLETON CHURCH AND HOPWOOD HALL.

About fifty members of the Society visited Middleton, under the leadership of Mr. Giles Shaw. The members met at the new Free Library, where they were received by the Mayor (Mr. J. W. Lees) and many members of the Town Council. A short meeting was held in the Library, the Mayor presiding, when several interesting books and pictures were exhibited relating to ancient Middleton.

Mr. C. W. Sutton exhibited some original drawings and rare engravings of the interior of Middleton Church and its stained glass windows.

Mr. H. Cockbain showed rubbings from old brasses in the church.

The Mayor exhibited drawings of Middleton Old Hall, now demolished, taken many years ago by Mr. A. Wellens, who was present at the meeting.

The Old Boar's Head was next visited. It is a fine old black and white building, and, excepting the church, is the most interesting remnant of antiquity remaining in Middleton. The house was purchased a short time ago by the corporation with the idea of taking it down and erecting a new town hall upon the site, but fortunately better counsels prevailed, and this contemplated step has been abandoned.

The old rectory was next visited, and the drawing-room inspected. It contains some beautiful oak carvings. After visiting the remains of the moat, the party passed on to the church, and here they were met by the churchwardens and other friends. The building contains some fine specimens of Norman arches in the western end. One of the interesting features of the interior is an old stained glass window, in the south aisle of the church, depicting Sir Ralph Assheton and the Middleton archers who fought at Flodden Field. The vizored helmet, sword, and spurs of the famous Sir Ralph, who was knighted at Flodden, hang in the church. In the chancel are some interesting brasses. These were described to the members, as also were the numerous old carvings. The church has a curious wooden tower, which was ascended by several of the party.

Mr. Giles Shaw then read a paper describing some of the more noteworthy features of the place.

Mr. George Esdaile read a short paper in which he said that Middleton had in the six hundred years preceding this century been owned by only four families, the Middletons down to Henry VII., the Bartons for two generations only, according to the heralds Flower and St. George; but a muddle had been made even by them, Flower giving the heiress a mother in Maude Middleton, and St. George in

Margaret Bryon; the Asshetons from the time of Edward IV. to 1760, when Mary Assheton married Sir Harbord Harbord, afterwards Lord Suffield. Since the sale by the latter family, Middleton has passed into the possession of Mr. Butterworth. Amongst these owners the family of the greatest historic interest was that of Assheton, of which Mr. Esdaile had a pedigree of twenty-three generations, including the stock and its various branches—of Ashton-under-Lyne, of Middleton, of Chadderton, of Shepley, of Great Lever, and of Downham, to the last of which we must look probably for the male representative. The Asshetons have been great in arms, nearly a score of knights being on the roll of the family, which has been represented on the fields of Durham, Norham, Northampton, in the French wars, and at Flodden. It has given judges to the country, wardens to the cinque ports, representatives to Parliament, clerics to the church, and there have been seven baronets of Middleton and Great Lever. The records of the period of the Wars of the Roses show the various members of the family who were "excepted" in the Act of Resumption. The petitions to Parliament, 12 to 17 Edward IV., give us a curious insight into the state of the county, when, although judgment was duly given in a case respecting "the kepyng of the manors of Great Lever with the appurtenances in Midleton" in favour of Sir Rauf Assheton, yet those opposed to him, who had been outlawed for treason and felony, forcibly took the "Record of Recovery" out of the castle of Lancaster, so that Sir Rauf Assheton was without remedy, and the petition further showed that the knight and his tenants and friends had for five years been nightly and daily robbed by a number of persons, "yeomen and gentlemen, by name Lever, Randalf, Halgh, Rygbe, Coventre, Harpir, Suthworth, Ratclyff, Mader, and Covre, in all eighteen persons, and who were defensably in forme of warre arrayed;" and the knight prayed that they might be proclaimed at the market crosses of Lancaster, Manchester, Warrington, and Wigan. Mention was also made of Sir Thomas Ashton, who, with his friend and relative Sir

Edmund Trafford, had a warrant, by the sanction of Parliament, to transmute the baser metals into gold. The patent was dated 24 Henry VI. (Rymer, *Fœd.*, xi. 68).

After tea, which was kindly provided by the Mayor, as were also conveyances for the ladies, the members proceeded to Hopwood Hall by a charmingly wooded drive, and on arrival were received by Mrs. Hopwood, who escorted the members all over the building, pointed out the numerous objects of antiquarian interest, and gave many interesting particulars of the old hall. Some portions date back to the reign of Henry VIII. It was held by one William de Hopwood at an early period, and it remained in the family for a long time, until Dr. Hopwood devised it to his friend Edward Gregge, of Chamber Hall, whose descendant now possesses it. The Hopwood family has been seated here for centuries, and members of it have taken an active part in county affairs since the time of the Edwards. One was a witness to the licence for the collegiation of the Church of Manchester. At the end of last century the Hon. Cecilia Byng—whose relative, Admiral Byng, was shot—married Mr. J. Hopwood and took up her residence at the hall. The most interesting fact in connection with Hopwood Hall is the celebrated will case, which for a time engrossed the attention of England.

On the motion of Mr. Esdaile, seconded by Mr. Pullinger, a special vote of thanks was given to Captain Hopwood and Mrs. Hopwood for the privilege (not often granted) of visiting this charming old residence.

After leaving Hopwood Hall, the members proceeded to the residence of Councillor J. Thorpe to inspect his fine collection of moths and silkworms. The meeting concluded by a visit to the Free Grammar School, where the Rev. J. O. Jelly gave some interesting particulars of this old school.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor, on the motion of Mr. Sales, seconded by Mr. F. Smith.

June 12th to 15th, 1889.

IN THE CUMBERLAND LAKE DISTRICT.

The annual Whitsuntide excursion of the Society was taken into the Cumberland Lake District. A party of members and friends, to the number of about forty, were met at the Penrith Railway Station at midday on Wednesday, June 12th, by Major Arnison and a few friends belonging to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, who accompanied them to the ruined castle which overlooks the town on its western side. Little remains except the southern and eastern walls, and an extremely well-defined and deep moat on the north and east sides. Penrith suffered greatly from the various incursions of the Scots, which seem to have culminated in the fourteenth century, when the town was twice burned and a large number of its inhabitants carried into captivity. To afford better protection to the unfortunate inhabitants Richard II. granted in 1397 the Honour of Penrith, with other possessions and emoluments in the county, to the powerful baron, Ralph Nevill, of Raby, whom he created Earl of Westmorland. The castle is believed to owe its origin to him, and after his death it passed successively, with slight intermissions, to his descendants, the Earl of Salisbury, the king-making Earl of Warwick, and to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the last of whom frequently resided here, and on his accession the castle and its manorial appurtenances became merged in the Crown estates. In 1696 the manor of Penrith was granted by William III. to his dear friend and most trusty follower, Bentinck, Earl of Portland, in whose family it remained until 1787, when it was sold to the Duke of Devonshire.

In the course of the afternoon and evening the party visited the ruins of the fine old baronial castle of Brougham, beautifully situated on the banks of the river Eamont. It was founded early in the reign of King John by Robert de Veteripont, and passed from that family by the marriage of an heiress to Roger de Clifford. In the possession of the

Cliffords this castle, with those of Appleby, Brough, Pendragon, and Skipton, remained for a period of about four hundred years, and it remains in the possession of their descendants in the female line to this day. Many of the Cliffords made Brougham their principal residence. Here dwelt the ruthless Clifford who so pitilessly slew the youthful Earl of Rutland after the battle of Wakefield, and who himself was slain soon after in a skirmish immediately preceding the battle of Towton. It was here that his son, the "Shepherd Lord," who had been hid away among the Cumberland fells and brought up as a peasant, found a home amid his cherished dependants when his honours and estates were restored to him.

> For he, long forced in humble walks to go,
> Was softened into feeling, soothed, and tamed.
>
> Love had he found in huts where poor men lie;
> His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills.
>
> In him the savage virtue of the Race,
> Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead:
> Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
> The wisdom which adversity had bred.

Finally, here came the last, and not least worthy of her race, the strong-willed, yet tender-hearted Ann, Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, to spend the chief portion of her serene old age.

Close adjoining the castle is the site of a Roman station identified as the Brocavum of the Fifth Iter of Antoninus. The site of the enclosing walls can be distinctly traced, and the moat which surrounded it is well marked on the western side. About a mile distant is situated Brougham Hall, the residence until his death of the great Lord Chancellor Brougham. Through the courtesy of the present Lord Brougham and Vaux the party had the privilege of seeing through this beautiful place and enjoying the lovely view from the garden terrace.

A further walk of about half a mile on the return to Penrith brought the party to "King Arthur's Round Table" and to Mayborough. Much speculation has been expended over the origin and purpose of these relics of antiquity. The former of these, when in its perfect stage (and it is yet nearly so) may be described as being a circular vallum of about three hundred feet in diameter, and of considerable height, enclosing within it a broad ditch which encompassed a flat-topped mound one hundred and seventy-five feet in diameter, with the exception of the space required for access to this table land from two opposite sides. The conviction forces itself at once on the mind of the observer that this can never have been a defensive post, or the ditch would have been outside instead of inside the vallum. The next thought that arises is that it must have been made for spectacular purposes; the spectacle, whatever it may have been, having taken place on the table ground in the middle, whilst the spectators stood or sat around the inner side of the vallum. The suggestion has been made that it was a Castrensian theatre for the amusement of the Roman soldiers stationed at Brocavum. A perhaps better suggestion is that of the late Canon Simpson, president of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, that it was a "holm-gang," where the disputes of the Saxon or Danish settlers in these parts were determined by an appeal to arms. The holm-gang was a well-known Scandinavian institution, and a description of it will be found in Mallet's *Northern Antiquities.* It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that such an institution would be introduced here when the Northmen settled in the district. Mayborough, which is only a few hundred yards distant, is an annular vallum fifteen to twenty feet high, formed of loose stones and gravel, apparently obtained from the adjacent river beds of the Eamont and Lowther. It is about three hundred feet in diameter, has no outside or inside ditch, and it is entered by an opening towards the east, in which two monoliths formerly stood. Originally there may have been

a doorway formed of three large stones, as instances of the kind occur in many pre-historic monuments in several parts of Europe, Asia, and North Africa. In the interior of the circle and not quite in the centre stands a massive monolith twelve feet high. Two others are known to have stood near it, and there is mention made of a stone circle of which these stones would perhaps form a part. Whether Mayborough has been an enclosed burial place, a place of worship, or a "thingstead" where the people met to settle the affairs of the community, to promulgate their laws, and to try offenders, can perhaps never be determined. It may have served for one or all of these purposes.

Thursday was occupied first with a visit to the Church at Edenhall, where the vicar, the Rev. W. Lovejoy, pointed out the various objects of interest, among the chief of which was a remarkably fine brass in excellent preservation to the memory of William Stapleton, who died in 1458, and his wife, the heiress of the Veteriponts, or Viponts, of Alston. Crossing the river Eden and passing through the villages of Langwathby and Little Salkeld, the fine stone circle known as "Long Meg and her Daughters" was reached. Standing on a high plateau, with no habitation but a solitary farm-house near, the first glimpse of its huge stones standing out against a background of sky was singularly impressive. One felt that one stood by the monument of generations that had crumbled into dust ages before the advent of civilisation into Britain. The diameter of the circle averages about three hundred and thirty-two feet, and it is composed of sixty-nine stones, including Long Meg, whereof twenty-seven are still erect. The largest stones measure from eight to ten feet in height, and nearly facing the external menhir "Long Meg" is an entrance or rudimentary avenue composed of four stones. "Long Meg" stands some twenty yards outside the circle to the south-west. It is twelve feet high, three feet six inches broad, and three feet six inches thick. It is marked on its north-east face with several of those mysterious ring incisions which are so well described

in the late Sir J. Y. Simpson's *Archaic Sculpturings*. Some competent archæologists consider these cup and ring markings to be religious symbols connected with the worship of the Sun. They certainly go back to the Neolithic Stone Age, and are found on rude stone monuments all over Europe and across the continent of Asia. It is painful to observe that quite recently some wretch has chiselled his contemptible name across the ring markings. This monument was scheduled under the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. Is legislation powerless to stop such wanton mutilation?

A halt was next made at Kirkoswald, where, under the guidance of Canon Ransome, the church and college were visited. The last-named was the residence before the Reformation of the fellows of the church which was then collegiate. Subsequently it passed into the hands of the Fetherstonehaughs, a Northumbrian family, who rebuilt or altered it to its present condition. Sir Timothy Fetherstonehaugh, a former owner, was captured at the battle of Worcester, tried along with the Earl of Derby by court-martial, and executed at Chester. The family suffered much for its loyalty, and its only reward was a commission in the Life Guards for two sons and the present of a portrait (which hangs here) of Charles I., taken as he appeared on the scaffold with upraised hands as if addressing the multitude. It has no merit as a painting, but the expression of the face and the swollen eyes lead to the supposition that the painter executed his work from a personal remembrance of that sad scene. Of the Castle of Kirkoswald, once the stronghold of the Barons Dacre, little remains to tell of its former magnificence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the divisions of the vast possessions of the Dacres between the two branches of the Dacres of the North and the Dacres of the South, Kirkoswald fell to the latter branch, who allowed the castle to decay, and eventually sold it with their other possessions in the north. There are yet many points to interest the antiquary, especially in the construc-

tion of the moat, within which is an outwork or ravelin which commanded the flank of any forces attacking the approach to the castle.

Again crossing the Eden and passing over the ridge which divides the Vale of Eden from the great plain which stretches from Penrith to Carlisle, the former Forest of Inglewood, the party arrived at the Roman Station at Plumpton Wall, now recognised as the Voreda of the Second Iter. A short account of the many altars, inscribed tablets, and other relics discovered here was given. On leaving the camp the party was hospitably entertained by Mr. Simpson, of Romanway, who also showed the members a valuable collection of coins, urns, and millstones which had been dug out of the neighbouring station. Two British kist-vaens and an urn found on his estate were also exhibited.

On Friday the party met early at the parish church of Penrith, and were shown, among other objects of interest, ancient portraits on glass of a king (most probably Richard II.), of Richard Duke of York, beheaded after the battle of Wakefield, and of his wife, Cecily Nevill, the parents of Kings Edward IV. and Richard III. The ancient crosses and hog-back stones, in the churchyard, popularly called the "Giant's Grave," were examined, and a very interesting account of them and of another cross called the "Giant's Thumb" was given by Mr. George Watson, of Penrith.

Bidding a final adieu to Penrith, the party drove by a beautiful road through Dalemain Park to the village of Dacre, and paid a visit, all too short, to the old castle and church there. The latter possesses many objects of great interest, which were described in an excellent paper written specially for this Society by the vicar, the Rev. J. White. Up to this point the party was under the leadership of Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, who read short papers on Penrith Castle, Brougham Castle, and the Roman station there, King Arthur's Round Table and Mayborough, and the Roman station of Voreda. The leadership was then taken up by Mr. Albert Nicholson, who conducted the party to Keswick.

Crosthwaite Church was first visited, and the vicar, the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, gave a very interesting account of the introduction of Christianity into this district by St. Kentigern, who founded a church on this spot in the sixth century, and then described the existing church and its principal features. Amongst these is the curiously sculptured font of late fourteenth-century date, effigies of a man and his wife of about the fifteenth century, probably of the family of Derwentwater, and the very rare markings, called Consecration Crosses, here placed, one in the splay of a window in the north aisle, and three others outside windows of the south aisle. A few of the visitors were also indebted to the vicar for the opportunity of visiting Greta Bank, the former residence of the poet Southey, and of seeing the Industrial Arts School, which, under the auspices of Mr. and Mrs. Rawnsley, has been the means of training in their spare hours a considerable number of young people in the production of repoussé work in metal of a highly artistic kind, and thereby affording them the means of making a comfortable addition to their earnings.

Little remained for Saturday beyond a visit to the well-known stone circle in the vicinity of Keswick. This pleasant and instructive excursion, greatly enhanced by the beautiful weather experienced throughout the journey, was brought to a close here, and the principal number went home by way of Windermere, visiting, on the way, Thirlmere and Grasmere, at the latter place paying reverence to the grave of the great poet who has ennobled this beautiful region by his spirit-moving song.

Monday, June 17th, 1889.

THE BRIDGEWATER CHARTERS.

The members of the Society, by the kindness of the Hon. Algernon Egerton, spent a pleasant and profitable evening in the inspection of the historical and other manuscripts at

the Bridgewater Offices at Walkden, which have recently been reported upon by the Rev. W. D. Macray for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in their Eleventh Report, appendix, part vii. The collection (which was ably described by Mr. J. Holmes) comprises a few ancient and valuable charters, including a commission from the Abbey of Savigny to the Abbey of Buildewas to assume the government of the Abbey of St. Mary, at Dublin (which bears date 1156, and is, with its seal, in perfect preservation); a charter of King John, while governor of the same island; a charter of Henry II. to the same abbey; a consent by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and constable of Chester, to an exchange of lands by the abbot and Convent of Buildewas, which bears date June 10th, 1287, all in good preservation; a grant of the twelfth century from Stephen de Nerbona to William, son of Ralph de Filungele [Fillongley, Warwickshire], "for his homage and service, and on account of a duel which he fought for me;" a great number of ancient deeds relating to property in Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Wales, and elsewhere; papers relating to the proceedings of the High Court of Star Chamber in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., to the Isle of Man and to Guernsey; chancery petitions; and a mass of law papers, including drafts of many interesting grants by Queen Elizabeth and James I.

The collection would seem to have originated with Sir Thomas Egerton, who filled the offices of solicitor and attorney-general, master of the rolls and lord keeper in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and was created first Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley, and whose second and surviving son became the first Earl of Bridgewater, and direct ancestor of the late Duke of Bridgewater, "the father of inland navigation." Sir Thomas Egerton was a trusted counsellor of both Elizabeth and James I., and in intimate relationship with the Cecils—a proof of which is afforded by the fact that, on the proceedings against Mary Queen of Scots, Popham, the attorney-general, was passed over, and

the prosecution entrusted to Sir Thomas Egerton. There is an interesting paper in the collection on this subject, namely, the draft petition of the Houses of Parliament praying Queen Elizabeth to carry out the sentence pronounced upon the "Scotish Quene." It is in a clerk's handwriting, and bears alterations in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Egerton and of Lord Burghley, and is noted by Sir Thomas as perused by the lord treasurer (Burghley).

The collection is particularly rich in autographs, and comprises several of Queen Elizabeth and of James I. (including a holograph letter of the latter); one of George III.; very many of Burghley, Lord Bacon, the Duke of Suffolk, Robert Cecil, Sir Christopher Hatton, Fortescue, Rokeby, Walsingham, Leicester, Popham, Coke, Nottingham (who was the Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded the fleet in the defeat of the Spanish Armada), Dorset, Worcester, Northampton, Cobham, Buckhurst, Salisbury, Hunsden, North, Sir Julius Cæsar, Buckingham (the favourite of Charles I.) and his widow, Marlborough, Godolphin, Somerset, Kent, Ormond, Somers, Puckering, Coventry, Littleton, Bridgman, Danby, the Duchess of Queensberry, and the Duchess of Gloucester. There are also many fine seals (attached to documents) in a good state of preservation, including seals of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., the very rare great seal of the Commonwealth, seals of the counties palatine of Lancaster and Chester, and the great seal of Ireland attached to an Act of the Irish Parliament suspending Poyning's Law, 28 Henry VIII., chapter 4.

There are among the MSS. two or three autographs of Laurence Washington and a seal showing three mullets. This Laurence Washington was the father of John Washington, who was knighted by Charles I., and emigrated to America after the Civil War, and was the great-grandfather of George Washington, the first president of the United States. The three mullets appear in George Washington's coat of arms, which was surmounted by a crest of a raven with wings endorsed proper issuing out of a ducal coronet.

It appears to be not unlikely that the mullet and bars of Washington's coat of arms and the raven of his crest supplied the material for the American stars and stripes and their spread eagle. The American star is now six-pointed, but in a coin struck in 1791 it appears with five points, like the mullets in the Washington coat of arms.

The members were much pleased to see how carefully these documents are kept, some of the most valuable being preserved between two sheets of plate glass. Great praise is due to Mr. Holmes for the excellent manner in which they are arranged.

Saturday, July 6th, 1889.

VISIT TO DIDSBURY.

The members visited Didsbury and Cheadle, under the leadership of Mr. F. Moorhouse. On arrival at Didsbury the members proceeded to the church, where the registers and church plate were laid out for their inspection.

Mr. Moorhouse described the exterior and interior of the church. Part of Didsbury, he said, with its old church, lies on the north bank of the Mersey and near to the old ford to Northenden across the same. The river and lands near the ford were in olden times called Didisford, and the land on the Didsbury side is now called Ford Bank. Booker, in his *History of the Chapelry of Didsbury*, says: "In a survey of the extent of the manor of Manchester made in 1322, Didsbury is included in the lower bailiwick of the barony, and is required to contribute towards the maintenance of the lord's bailiff and his subordinates when occupied in the discharge of their duties in the oversight of the manor." Allusion is also made therein to a fishery in the Mersey, to the middle of the river from Grimesbotham up to Ditesbury Moor, worth sixpence per annum. From a rental of Thomas West, Lord de la Warre, May 1st, 1473, it appears that Nicholas Langforth, Knt., holds the demesne of Whithington and Diddesbury by the service of one knight's fee of the said

lord, a yearly rent of 9s., and for castleward (a tax upon those residing within a certain distance of any castle towards the maintenance of such as watch and ward the castle) 10s. This relation between the superior lord and his tenant was found to continue uninterrupted throughout the brief seignory of John Lacy, who, in 1578, after a seventeen years' possession of the manor of Manchester, transferred it to Sir Nicholas Mosley, citizen and alderman of London, a member of a family long located in the neighbourhood, who thus added to his influence in Didsbury as a landed proprietor by becoming also lord of the manor, of which Didsbury was a member. Didsbury seems to have warmly espoused the cause of Charles I., in striking contrast to most of the other townships in Manchester parish, influenced probably by the counsels and examples of Sir Edward Mosley, of the Hough, at whose house in Alport the Royalist general, Lord Strange, was lodged and entertained during the siege of Manchester in 1642. In the following year, on the retreat of the Royalist party from Wigan, after their surrender of that town, we learn that a slight skirmish ensued at Didsbury, partaking more of a personal encounter. Didsbury Chapel is the most ancient of all the chapels in the parish of Manchester, having been founded probably in the twelfth century. At first it was probably nothing more than a private oratory limited to the use of the lord of the manor or other influential persons who planned its erection, but increasing in importance and size as permission was extended to the tenantry and others to worship there, until at length in 1352 it became a parochial chapel. In this year a commission was granted by Roger de Norbury, Bishop of Lichfield, for the consecration of the chapel yard of Didsbury within the parish of Manchester, in order to the burial of such as died of pestilence in that hamlet and in neighbouring hamlets in the chapel yard there, because of their distance from the parish church of Manchester. There is a local tradition that the materials used in the erection of the first structure were the remains of an old church pulled down in

St. Mary's Gate, Manchester, brought in the first instance to Withington Green, and afterwards removed to Didsbury; but as this is a claim shared also in common with the halls of Ordsall, Clayton, and Trafford, which were said to be in part built from the old materials of Manchester church, it is little to be relied on except so far as possibly justifying the inference that in material at least the early chapel of Didsbury resembled the early church of Manchester, both being composed of transverse beams of wood filled in with lath and plaster, a style of building very generally adopted in the more ancient chapels within Manchester parish, of which the only instance now remaining is the chapel of Denton. The church contains several monuments, but with the exception of that to the memory of Sir Nicholas Mosley they do not call for any particular notice.

The members proceeded to Cheadle Church in waggonettes and visited the church, when papers were read by the leader and Mr. S. E. Haworth. Chamber Hall and Peele Hall were afterwards visited. The latter has a perfect moat.

Mr. Samuel Andrew exhibited a collection of brass Roman coins recently found at Oldham, and Mr. Yates exhibited a collection of silver Roman denarii.

July 10th to 13th, 1889.

FOUR DAYS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

A party of members visited the Isle of Man, under the guidance of Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., and the Rev. E. B. Savage, M.A. On July 10th the party left Douglas in carriages *en route* for Castletown, visiting the remains of the Druidical stone circle and King William's College on the way. At the latter place they were met by the Rev. Mr. Walters, the principal, who conducted the party through the college, showing them the valuable library and museum, in which are many objects of great interest.

At Castle Rushen they were met by Sir James Gell (attorney-general), who kindly acted as guide, showing them the chief features of the building. The principal objects seemed to be a very thick wall, through which a wide passage had been cut, leaving on the one side an outer wall about three feet thick, and on the other about six feet thick, making the total thickness twelve feet; and the old clock presented by Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1597, which is in a very good state of preservation and keeps exceedingly good time. A fine specimen of a Roman altar was found in the precincts of the castle a short time ago, with an inscription upon it. The members were informed that the Romans never visited the Isle of Man. The finding of the above therefore opened out a new field of inquiry. The truth is the altar belongs to Northumberland, for the authorities there have written to Castletown for it, they having an entry in some way proving that it belongs to that county. Of course the authorities at Castletown do not see fit to comply with their request, so the altar will remain where it is.

The members were shown into the Roll Office, where his honour the Clerk of the Rolls had kindly placed for their inspection some old and interesting documents illustrating the history of the island, and dating as far back as A.D. 1417. One very important document was read, that relating to the death of one William Christian, in 1651, which ordered that he should be put to death by shooting on Hangohill. He was first ordered to be hanged, but in kindness to his wife and friends it was thought that shooting would be the milder form by which he should end his days. He was a Royalist. The Rev. H. S. Gill, vicar of Malew, brought for inspection an old silver pre-Reformation paten, engraved with a head of our Saviour. He also exhibited the oldest of the parish registers, which contain some exceedingly curious entries.

On the way home the ruins of Rushen Abbey were visited, and the curious old Crossag Bridge, crossing the Silver Burn, which bears traces of the thirteenth-century style of architecture.

On the following day, Friday, the members left Douglas in two waggonettes, and had a delightful drive, the weather being perfect. The first stopping place was Kirk Braddan, where they examined the crosses under the guidance of the Rev. E. B. Savage, who read the Runic inscriptions, which, with others in the island, seem to be the handiwork of one Gant, who claims for himself to have made "all in Man." Thence they drove to the Chapel of St. John, in which is situated the Tynwald, whence all Manx laws are promulgated in Manx and English. It appears probable that the present legislative assembly is a union of two such bodies, their number consisting of twenty-four, presided over by two deemsters, whereas the normal number appears, in all other Norse governments, to be twelve, with one president, this number possibly being the origin of the number of persons required to form a jury. It is said that the earth forming the Tynwald mound has been brought there from all the parishes in the island, so that when the laws are given therefrom the mound or hill represents the whole island. The position of the Tynwald Hill can hardly fail to suggest to the experienced eye the site of a Druidical circle, and comparison with other rude Tynwalds makes it probable that the Norsemen would more likely select a spot already consecrated by the celebration of religious rites than construct such a place for themselves. Built into the wall of the road, on the west side of Tynwald Hill, is an ancient cist, in which have been found rude heads and fragments of pottery and ashes presumably human. Calling on the way to inspect the beautiful new church, built in memory of the late Bishop Rowley Hill, and the ruins of St. Trinian's Church, the party found its way to Peel, a lovely spot with a picturesque bay, bounded on the south by the islet on which stand the extensive and striking ruins of the castle and cathedral, and on the north by a projecting headland of red sandstone crowned with green, which, by the harmonious colouring, greatly adds to the loveliness of the prospect. After luncheon at the Creg Malin Hotel, the party crossed the narrow arm of the

sea which divides the islet from the island in a ferryboat, and devoted the afternoon to an examination of the ruins. The cathedral is of early English period, portions of it dating as far back as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and consists of nave, chancel, and transepts, a curious feature in the arrangement being that while nave and choir are on the same level, the transepts are about two feet lower. The ruins have suffered greatly by being used as quarries for the storehouses built at the beginning of this century. The Round Tower has no relationship to the Irish round towers, but was evidently erected as a watch tower, probably in the fourteenth century. The Cambrian Archæological Association, who visited the ruins twenty-five years ago, opened the grave of Bishop Rutter. On the margin of the stone slab covering the grave was the following inscription:—

SAMUEL RUTTER,
LORD BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.
1661.

and on the upper surface of the slab was a brass plate bearing a quaint inscription in Latin, supposed to have been written by the bishop himself. The party then divided, one portion returning to Douglas, the remainder enjoying the quiet and beauty of Peel and its homelike hotel.

The next morning all met at Peel Road Station and proceeded to Kirk Michael, on the way to which place the train obligingly deposited the party just outside Bishop's Court, a delightful spot, which has been the episcopal residence of this ancient see for six hundred years. The bishop (Dr. James W. Bardsley) and Mrs. Bardsley kindly threw their house open, and the members were gratified by the sight of many interesting relics of Bishop Wilson, the venerable author of *Sacra Privata*, whose grave is to be seen in the neighbouring church of Kirk Michael. Before proceeding to view the fine crosses, with Runic inscriptions, in the churchyard, the bishop and Mrs. Bardsley hospitably entertained the visitors at luncheon. The crosses at Kirk Michael are probably the finest in the isle, and are of considerable

beauty as well as antiquarian interest. Before quitting the churchyard of St. Michael, a hearty vote of thanks was tendered to Rev. G. B. Savage for the great and able help he rendered to the members of the Society, not only in guiding them so learnedly in their examination of ancient relics, but also for the admirable arrangements which had been made to secure to the visitors the greatest amount of comfort and instruction in their visit.

Monday, July 22nd, 1889.

NORTHENDEN.

A visit was paid to Northenden. After enjoying the hospitality of their fellow-member, Mr. Max Robinow, at Hawthornden, the members proceeded to Northenden Church, where they were received by the Rev. E. Baker, the rector, who explained all the chief points of interest, both inside and outside of the church. After an inspection of the old registers and church plate, a paper, on the church and parish, written by Mr. T. Cann Hughes, was read by Mr. William Harrison.

The rector having called attention to a very beautiful drinking cup, that for many years had been used as a chalice, but which obviously had never been originally intended for such a purpose, its form and ornamentation being purely secular, considerable discussion ensued. The flowing lines of the leafy scroll running round the tip it was suggested might be an inscription, which, however, could not be clearly made out, whilst the grouping of the Tudor rose and pomegranate, it was thought, pointed to the sixteenth century as the probable date of its manufacture, rather than that of 1614 which was engraved on the under side of the foot.

As offering a possible solution of the question, Mr. Esdaile read part of the will of Robert Honford, of Etchells, who may have built but who certainly endowed the chapel in the south aisle. He by his will, dated August 3rd, 1527—

which in its several clauses mainly relates to the chapel and its endowments—devised *inter alia:* "Item I bequeath my *goblet of sylver* and I I I (3) of my worst sylver spoones, with all the silver plate that is upon my hornes [which I take to be hunting horns] except my servant William's Horn, towards the makyng of a Chales to the said chapell, and if the said stuffe be not sufficyent, I will that myne executors make it out at the sygt [sight] of Mr. Parson of Northen." Mr. Esdaile suggested that from the ornamentation of the cup, pointing to the date, and from the terms of the will, it was possible that upon sight of this beautiful cup or goblet the parson of Northen might have exercised his discretion and saved such a choice piece of work from the melting pot, and the non-ecclesiastical make and style of the cup itself was perhaps the reason why it was not taken, on the subsequent confiscation of church plate.

In the discussion, the rector, Captain Worsley, and Messrs. W. W. Faulder, Nathan Heywood, H. H. Sales, the honorary secretary, and others took part.

Monday, July 29th, 1889.

THE OLD BARN AT STAND.

The members visited Stand, and, by permission of the Earl of Derby, inspected the ancient building in the grounds of Stand Hall, known as the Old Barn. The party was received by Mr. Thomas Statter, who conducted them round the grounds, and on his invitation they assembled in the drawing-room of Stand Hall, where a meeting was held. Mr. Statter presided.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper on the Old Barn at Stand, said to be part of the Old Church of Manchester and removed there in 1422, in which he, by means of a large plan of the Collegiate Church, showed that the choir, nave, and Trafford Chapel were the oldest portions, in fact the only parts existing in 1422 at the time of the collegiation by Lord de la

Warre; and that as these portions were, in all probability, constructed of woodwork, framed and filled in with plaster, and laid on stone foundations, we could, in endeavouring to discover the remains of these wooden portions which may still be existing, only look for such timber buildings as would sit upon the old foundations. These foundations have been discovered, and note has been made of them. He then proceeded to show that the places which tradition pointed to as those to which the timber buildings had been removed, were the barns at Stand, Ordsall, Trafford, and Clayton. Stating that the barn at Clayton had been taken down, and that nothing could now be determined as to its having been constructed out of materials belonging to the Old Church, the reader passed on to that of Trafford, which had also been removed. In illustration of the traditional connection of the Trafford barn with the church, Mr. Esdaile exhibited a small, flat, round box turned out of oak, the inside of which bore the following information: "Made out of a piece of oak taken from the Collegiate Church of Manchester when pulled down about A.D. 1400 (prior to the present edifice being erected). Some large beams were removed to the Trafford estate and used in building a barn, which has recently been taken down by Mr. Lee, architect. A portion of the oak was sent through Mr. Addin Gardiner to Mr. George Doveston, who has manufactured some boxes from it, and presented them to the Athenæum bazaar committee with his best wishes for the success of their undertaking, 2nd October, 1843." Not having any dimensions of the area of the Trafford barn, it was useless to speculate as to whether it had been part of the Trafford Chapel or not. The barn at Ordsall, on the other hand, was still in existence, but the only point of similarity it possesses with an ecclesiastical building is in having the roof supported by pillars dividing the whole area into a nave and side aisles. Taking the tradition for something, the reader proceeded to show that the oak pillars in the barn at Ordsall would exactly stand on the present line of pillars in the choir of the cathedral, and

that the length of the Ordsall barn was the same as that of the cathedral chancel to the screen behind the table, leaving only about fourteen feet short of the present length of the choir. As to the barn at Stand, which has an inside width of twenty-six feet six inches and a length of fifty-eight feet, it did not fit in so well as in the latter instance. The width within the present pillars of the cathedral is twenty-four feet only, but it might not seem an insufficient support to have only oak pillars of eighteen inches thick. It was noted that the two lines of the present pillars in the chancel and choir nave were not in line, those on the south side of the choir standing in about three feet. The length of the barn at Stand is fifty-eight feet, whilst that of the nave of the cathedral, formerly the Collegiate Church, is shown on the plan of 1815 as eighty-five feet from the chancel and to the tower arch; this difference in length might be accounted for by the subtraction of some decayed parts. The reader showed that the lords of the respective sites mentioned were in 1422 the Byron (Clayton), the Trafford (Trafford), the Radcliffe (Ordsall), and the Pilkington (Stand) (of whom he gave some particulars) of the day; and that as they were notably public men in both town and church affairs, the traditions about the barns might fairly be accepted in that particular. But the traditional reference to the barn at Stand stated that a Stanley had placed it there. This opened up a fresh field of conjecture, in which the facts in connection with the erection of the church and college should be considered.* As the sum of £3,000 given by Lord de la Warre was entirely spent in pulling down the Baron's Hall, and erecting the college buildings upon its site, it was deemed expedient by Warden Huntington (1422) to construct both choir and nave of the church of wood, and it was not till 1485, during the wardenship of Bishop Stanley, that the final construction of the whole of stone took place. Be that as it might, it was now known that on the lines of pillars of both

* See Whatton's *Foundations*, pp. 43-44.

the present choir and nave there were found socketed stones for the receptions of uprights, a fact which certainly gives some value to the statement that timber buildings previously stood there.

The Chairman thought that as the Old Barn bore such a resemblance to a baronial dining hall it could not have been any part of an ecclesiastical building; there were, however, no old plans showing that it could have been part of a quadrangle of timber buildings; and the fact of the stone foundations of Stand Hall being away at some distance showed to the contrary.

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. Moorhouse, John Owen, W. W. Faulder, and Andrew took part.

Mr. Esdaile replied, and stated that the Stanley of 1422 did not possess the manor of Stand till the time of Henry VII., which in itself showed that it was possible the Bishop Stanley might have removed some part of the wooden church to Stand during his wardenship. It did not follow that because Norman remains had been found in Middleton Church, therefore there could not be any truth in the explicit statements of Hollinworth, Ainscough, Dr. Cole, and others, that the Collegiate Church was of wood. He thought it certainly might have been the Derby Chapel, if such had ever been of wood, as the difference in the inside widths of this barn and Derby Chapel was only six inches; that it could scarcely have been the old dining hall in the Baron's Hall, as there was a discrepancy in the respective widths of thirty inches, the width of the Baronial Hall at Hunt's Bank being thirty feet.

Mr. Alexander Taylor, of Bury, then conducted the party to Stand Chapel, and read a paper on its annals.

Tuesday, August 13th, 1889.

RADCLIFFE CHURCH AND FAIR HELEN'S TOWER.

Several members of the Society proceeded to Radcliffe to inspect the old church. They were received by the rector,

the Rev. H. A. Starkie, who conducted them round the church and pointed out the chief objects of interest. The church dates, as is supposed, from about the reign of Henry IV., though portions are of an earlier period. The tower was rebuilt in 1665, the chancel and vestry in 1817, and in 1846 and again in 1870 extensive alterations and restorations were made in the entire fabric. The "Sun Chapel" in the south transept is a chantry chapel, which appears to have been founded about the middle of the fifteenth century. On either side of the tower entrance to the church are certain wood carvings taken from the old pulpit and reading-desk, when the present stone pulpit and lectern were substituted. The panels contain the armorial bearings of the Asshetons, with initials and dates 1606 and 1665, and, as a border round the upper part of what was the desk, the text, "All my words that I shall speake unto thee, receive into thine Hearte and heare with thine eare." The church contains some ancient windows of specially beautiful design. Some of the members ascended the tower to look at the bells and to enjoy the extensive view to be obtained from the summit, embracing the valleys of the Roche and the Irwell, with the contiguous hills, and were thus enabled to form a more complete idea of the part which the sacred edifice and the town which had sprung up at its base had played in past times. The situation between two rivers approaching their confluence, and apart from the high roads connecting the neighbouring towns with each other, seems to account in some measure for the isolation of the place in olden times, and to explain the scarcity of written records. The parish registers, which were produced by the rector for the inspection of the members, contain, they were informed, no reference to local or general events of public interest, only the bare record of baptisms, marriages, and deaths. They begin in 1558, and are much mutilated.

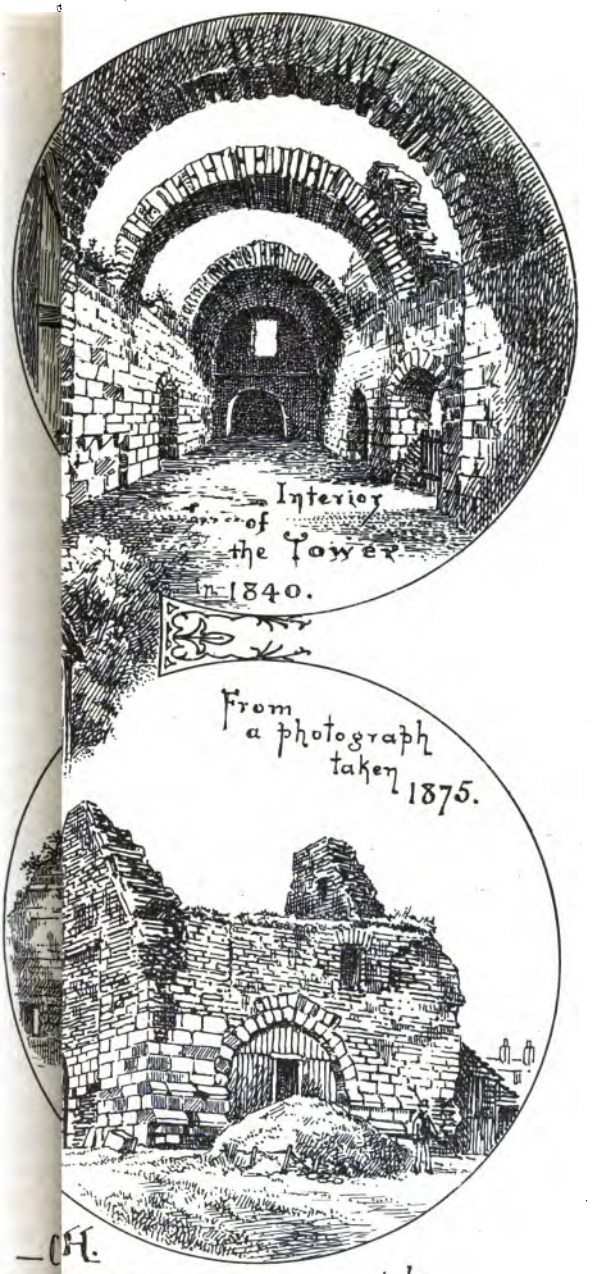
From the church the members were led to what remains of Radcliffe Tower, once the manorial residence of the Radcliffe family, locally known as Fair Helen's Tower.

When the tower was built there is no direct evidence, but it must have existed before 1403, as in that year Henry IV. granted to James Radclyffe a licence to enclose it with walls of stone and mortar, and to rebuild within the same walls a certain hall with two towers, and to kernel and embattle the walls, hall, and towers. The hall has been pulled down in modern times; but Whitaker, writing in 1818, tells us that it was forty-two feet two inches in length, and in one part twenty-six feet and in another part twenty-eight feet in width, and that the two massive principals which supported the roof were the most curious specimens of carved wood-work he had ever seen. There were also moulded cornices of oak, ornamented pillars, a pointed doorway, and a curious oak window frame. All these are now gone, and there only remain portions of the tower or fortified part of the ancient residence, and the foundations of the further end of the hall, on which have been built the front walls of some cottages. The hall is the reputed scene of the events related in the ballad of "Lady Isabella's Tragedy, or the Stepmother's Cruelty," to be found in Percy's *Reliques.**

Great interest in the ruins of the tower was manifested by the members present, and a general wish was expressed that they might be preserved from further dilapidation. On the motion of the Venerable Archdeacon Anson, seconded by Mr. Thomas Letherbrow, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the rector.

Mr. John Owen has contributed the following notes on Radcliffe church, made by him on October 6th, 1870: I found this church was undergoing some repair, and not before it was wanted. The old roof of the nave had been

* Mr. W. H. Rowbotham has very kindly contributed the beautiful group of drawings of Radcliffe Tower which adorns this volume. Mr. Rowbotham has called the attention of the editor to a letter from Charles Chadwick, of Healey, to Thomas Barrit, the Manchester antiquary, from which it is inferred that Barrit supplied Dr. T. D. Whitaker with the information about Radcliffe Tower, which is quoted in Baines' *Lancashire.* The letter is contained in a scrap-book of the Chetham Library.



—CH.

BOTHAM.— —del.—

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

taken off, and the clerestory rebuilt. A new panelled roof of pitch pine was in course of construction; the plaster knocked from the wall over the chancel arch revealed the ancient gable, sharp pitched, and springing from a level with the sills of the clerestory windows. The nave is only of two bays, the arches being rather wide, one arch opening into the aisle and the other into the transept. These pillars and arches are probably early in the sixteenth century or late in the fifteenth century. The pillars are a cluster of four, with a broad hollow between; the mouldings of the caps are outlined accordingly, but the pattern is not exactly the same, each cap and respondent or half cap varying. The bases, so far as I could see, were duplicates of the caps. The south window of south transept has been lately filled in with fourteenth-century tracery. A couple of heads, almost Egyptian in character, has been introduced into the tracery. There is a square-headed window of two lights in the east wall; this seems to be original; externally it has been plastered over with a hard kind of cement, so like stone that I passed by thinking it was modern work until I examined it in the inside; it was certainly a successful imitation of stone, but looking it all over and finding no joints I discovered its real character. It was also evident, on a closer inspection, that it was beginning to form cracks in two or three places. The style of tracery is late decorated or flowing. The chancel has been rebuilt entirely some time ago, with the exception of the chancel arch and its gable. The tower is a short, massy structure, which, seen at a distance, would get credit for being much older than it is. It is of three stages or stories, with a western entrance. Over the entrance is a window of two lights of decorated character; this has been lately inserted and filled in with stained glass; it bears the following inscription: "Deo et ecclesiæ Anno Domini 1860." The second story contains the clock, but has no window to light it with the exception of a small aperture. There are eight bells, six on a level and two suspended above. They were all cast in 1861 by John Taylor and Co., Loughborough.

The tenor bears the following inscription: "In the place of six this peal of eight bells was executed by voluntary contributions A.D. 1861." On the west face of the tower is the date 1665 and the name "Rector Carolus Beswicke." On the south side the arms of the Ashtons, "S^{r} Ralphe Ashton Kn^{t} and Bar^{t}." On the north a shield with two bendlets, the under sides engrailed, "Edward Radcliffe." All bear the date of 1665. There is something singular about the situation of this tower, broad and massy as it seems to be, yet it is partly built within the nave of the church, the walls of both arcades flanking the tower to some extent on each side; it would almost seem as if there had been anciently another bay to the nave, which was pulled down and the tower erected on its site, but not of the same breadth, but so as to admit of its being partly within the walls which enclose the tower to a certain extent; the walls finish with buttresses which project parallel with the tower, thus enclosing it still more within their grasp. The eastern buttresses of the tower spring from the top of the clerestory walls. The tower arch is pointed, and once crossed with flat mouldings as an apology for caps. Both transepts have angle buttresses of one stage, terminating in gablets. The hood moulding of the western entrance terminates in shield, that on the left has a bend, the other a cross. There was formerly an entrance to the south aisle, which is now built up, and the present window enlarged, as it now occupies the upper portion of it.

Saturday, August 17th, 1889.

ASTBURY AND LITTLE MORETON HALL.

The members made a whole day's excursion to Congleton for Astbury and Little Moreton Hall, under the leadership of Mr. George Esdaile. By the kindness of the rector (who was unavoidably absent) the church was thrown open to the party.

Mr. Esdaile read a series of exhaustive papers upon the

ancient parish of Astbury, its owners past and present, and showing the extent and locality of the various holdings. Strange to say Astbury *per se* was not mentioned in *Domesday Book*, but was, as a manor, included in Newbold, and was granted by the Conqueror to Hugh Lupus under whom Gilbert Venables held. This entry also showed that a church existed there in Saxon times. On his taking possession he gave to God and to Saint Werburgh the church of Estbury cum medietate boschi et plani omnia pertinent at Newbold. This gift was called in question in 1288, when William Venables, the seventh Baron of Kinderton, sued the Abbot of Chester (by his guardians) for the right of presentation to the church of Astbury, and ten years later by grant and fine made over to the abbot the advowson of Astbury for £20, and a release for twenty marks. It seems that the earliest Astbury on record was an illegitimate child of Hugh Kevelioc, Earl of Chester, and, by that relationship, nephew to Randle Blundeville, Earl of Chester, and he was known as Randulphus de Esbury, nepote Comitis Cestriæ. From him descended a line of Astburys of Astbury, which ended in Margery, who, in the time of Edward III., married Thomas de Somerford, which family continued lords of the manor down to 1600, when Mary married Sir Philip Oldfield. In 1660 their descendant, Somerford Oldfield, sold the lordship of Astbury for £4,500 to Archdale Palmer, excepting the pew, the family burial place, and the door of Astbury church, as well as the portship of the parish, and two closes of land. In eighteen years the Palmers sold for £4,780 to the trustees of Sir Philip Egerton, and such property belongs to the Egertons of Oulton. The Egertons possessed the manor of Newbold by marriage with the heiress of the Hawkestones, and they by marriage with the Venables of Newbold-Astbury; one of whom, Richard de Venables de Newbold, granted to William his son and Werberga his wife certain property in Newbold, and used a seal bearing two bars, three leopards heads in chief. In the churchyard of Astbury lie four monumental effigies in red stone. That on

the north is an ecclesiastic, resting on a slab, which was probably the lid of a stone coffin. The south figure is a knight in armour, also on an altar tomb, his feet resting on an animal, his head covered with a bascinet, and his shield charged with two bars and three leopards' heads in chief. The other two figures in the middle and side by side are a knight and a lady on a slab, and over them is a decorated arch with crocketed pinnacles. Mr. Esdaile considered that—of course without having some idea (now hopeless to obtain) of the ground plan of the ancient church of Astbury—it would be impossible to conjecture whether these three tombs were still *in situ* or were altar tombs in one or more chantries in the church. The knightly figure in the "conical" helmet might have been the Venables of Newbold of the day; but the occasion of the adoption of the leopards' heads must possibly remain a mystery. As to the objection offered by Mr. Helsby to the Brereton claim, that the family resided some miles away, &c., it was known that William Brereton was steward of Congleton in 1464 (*Rolls of Parliament*, v. 540*a*), and that his family had been connected with the parish of Astbury, in which Congleton is, for a considerable period; they might not have held lands in Newbold-Astbury, but the *Welsh Records* show that they had, as owners or as guardians of owners, the care of extensive estates in Newbold, Holme (Hulme Wallfield), and Somerford, as well as in Buglawton. Mr. Esdaile felt that exception must be taken to the statement by Mr. Helsby, "that the Venables of Kinderton from a very early period ceased to have any real interest in the parish;" for in the *Welsh Records* (24 Henry VIII., p. 149), as well as in those of earlier date relating to Cheshire, the name of Venables of Kinderton occurs as regularly as one of the family died, because they were superior lords of the area in question. Again, as to the probability of the marriage of Sir Radulphus Brereton with Ada, the daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, why should he not have been eligible and have married her or been married to her? Mr. Helsby has evidently forgotten

that her mother was Maud, daughter of Hugh Kevelioc, Earl of Chester, and therefore would doubtless frequently meet with one of the knights of the county as well appointed and as wealthy as the Brereton of the day, and then become his wife. Another point which would also have brought them together lay in the fact that the brother of Ada was John le Scot, afterwards Earl of Chester; so that it is extremely probable that on his necessary frequent attendances for suit and service with the Earl of Chester, both the knight and lady would have had many opportunities for seeing each other. Mr. Esdaile said that he should like to suggest, as a solution of the problem as to these tombs that might be well accepted, that the group of monuments commemorated four, if not the four, most important personages in the parish in their day. Taking, then, the inscription as deciding that the two central figures were for Sir Ralph de Brereton and his wife, Ada, daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, relict of Henry Hastings; the ecclesiastic as their son, Gilbert de Brereton, who was rector of Astbury, and presented thereto by Sir R. Venables in 13 Richard II. (1389-90), acting for Lord Roger de Venables, the patron. Should the fourth figure represent this Roger the palatinate baron of Kinderton, or his predecessor, the Norman baron (also ancestor of the ecclesiastic, the assumed erector of all four monuments), Gilbert de Venables qui dedit deo et Sc'tæ Werburgæ Eccl'iam de Estbury cum medietate bosci et plani omnia p'tinen in Newbold. This is, he thought, quite as feasible a solution as any that has yet been advanced, and one that does not clash with any tradition in any way. The various coats of arms in the church were also brought before the members, and the families of Moreton of Great Moreton, their successors, the Bellots, of knightly fame and the later owners, were presented in pedigree. The ancient owner of Little Moreton Hall, Sir Gralam de Lostock—better known now perhaps by the Cheshire Lines station of Lostock Gralam—the ancestor of a long line, who assumed their name from their lands, De Moreton, next formed the subject

of a paper which treated of that most interesting and, probably without exception, the finest specimen of black and white timber, wattle and plaster work in England. The moated site, originally double-moated, containing the building erected in the sixteenth century and redundant with carving and ornamental parquetting of the time, piously acknowledged by Richard Dale, the "carpider," to be due to the grace of God. The chapel was considered worthy of being carefully photographed, and its charming painted ornamentation minutely copied in detail, and which, being in monotone, would be easy of manipulation. Moreton is a comparatively small half-timbered manor house, bearing date of the middle of the sixteenth century. It is situated on level ground, near to the main road, between Newcastle-under-Lyme and Congleton. Within the moated area a small mound has been raised, and just outside it is another of larger dimensions, to which it is said there is an underground passage from the house. The entrance to the house is on the south side across a stone-built bridge which spans the moat, the eastern parapet wall of which bears a carving of the Moreton coat and crest. Near to this bridge is a little stream of clear water which supplies the house and moat. The entrance leads to a courtyard measuring about sixty feet north and south, and forty-three feet east and west, round which the buildings are arranged as a quadrangle, except that on the west side they are disconnected by a space of about twenty-eight feet in width. On the north side, opposite the entrance, is the great hall with its screens, and the kitchens, buttery, and servants' apartments at the west end of the hall. The hall itself has an open-timbered roof, with a fireplace in the north side, and a large bay window projecting into the courtyard on the south side. East of the hall is a staircase leading to the chambers above, and on either side of it is a parlour, one looking north and the other being lighted from the east and west, and having a large bay window also projecting into the court like that of the dining hall. The chimney-piece in this room is orna-

mented with the arms of Queen Elizabeth. On the east side of the quadrangle are the chapel and several other rooms, with chambers over the whole side. The chapel is divided into chancel and nave by an oak screen. The nave formerly had a large window to the south which is now blocked up, and the chancel is lighted by a pointed window of three lights. The walls of this part are decorated by being formed into panels with texts of Scripture written in black letter character in their spaces. The margins formed by the oak framing are covered with picturesque grotesques, fancifully treated. The southern range of building is the only one of three storeys in height; the upper storey is occupied by one long gallery running the whole length of this side. It is a handsome apartment with windows at each end, and both side walls are glazed as windows from end to end. The roof is open timbered. Most of the rooms are wainscoted and have panelled ceilings, and all the windows are prettily glazed with lead lights in various patterns, some of the old lead and glass still remaining, together with a few fragments of painted glass. The buildings generally have a low stone base, but with this exception may be said to be constructed with timber. The roofs are covered with grey (stone) slates. In the house sundry pieces of original furniture remain, as the dining hall table, a cabinet for spices in the kitchen, and some pewter plates which bear the "hall" stamp and the initials W. M. (for William Moreton) and Thos. Bacon as the name of the maker. On the whole there can scarcely be a better example of a "half-timbered" house of the middle of the sixteenth century, and certainly its general plan and design exhibit a constructive and artistic skill hardly to be surpassed where the materials here used have been employed. An interesting account of the hall is to be found in a paper read before the Rosicrucian Society in 1855 by Dr. Renaud.

The day passed too rapidly for the site of the Roman camp at Hulme-Wallfield to be visited, but it was decided that at an early date arrangements should be made to take it and Brereton Hall together.

Saturday, 24th August, 1889.

CASTLE NAZE AND CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH.

The members proceeded to Chapel-en-le-Frith under the leadership of Mr. F. Moorhouse and Mr. De Jongh, the owner of Castle Naze. On leaving the station the line was crossed and by a gentle rise the Roman Road was reached, and here the members paused a few minutes to discuss the same and to admire the lovely view. A steep ascent was then made and the summit of the hill on which Castle Naze is situated was reached. It is one thousand two hundred and fifty feet above the city of Manchester, and from here a still more beautiful view of the surrounding country can be seen. On one side is Coomb's Moss, and here the rare stag's-horn moss is found. At the foot of the hill are the Chapel-en-le-Frith and Whaley Bridge reservoirs, whilst in the distance can be seen Eccles Pike, Whaley Moor, Chinley Churn, Kinder Scout, Mam Tor, South Heads, and other well-known landmarks. On the summit, Mr. F. Moorhouse gave an interesting description of Castle Naze. The members then descended on the other side of the hill to inspect the precipitous sides of this fortification, and then proceeded past Bank Hall, the seat of the Frith family, to Chapel-en-le-Frith, pausing on the way to the hotel to examine the Cross, which is placed in an excellent position in the market place. It bears the date of 1637.

After tea at the Royal Oak the members visited the church, and were received by the principal officials. At the entrance to the churchyard, on the right of the gate, a stone coffin is placed on the wall. It is in an excellent state of preservation, but is in danger of being much injured as it seems to be a favourite place for the boys to sharpen their pocket knives. On the left of the gate is the pedestal of a sundial, but it is incomplete, inasmuch as the sundial itself is missing. In the hotel the members observed a sundial by Clare, of Manchester, which might be the missing

portion itself. The following inscription is on a building adjoining the churchyard :—

Charles Bramwell died 1878 and was Sexton at Chapel-en-le-Frith Church 24 years; his father 43; his grandfather 50; his great grandfather 38; his great-great grandfather 40; great-great-great grandfather 52.

Rev. G. Hall, B.A., died April 15, 1885, and was vicar forty-nine years. Rev. S. H. Pink, vicar, was elected 1885.

P. Bramwell, clerk.
J. Heathcott, J. C. Hyde, } Wardens.
J. Bramwell, Sexton, 1887.

The registers were examined in the vestry. They begin in 1620, are on paper, and in a bad state of preservation. A number of Manchester people are buried here. In the church's records is an entry recording the preservation of a girl of thirteen years of age, after having been exposed, without food, to the severity of the weather for six days. It is as follows: "On March 13, 1717, one Phœnix, a girl about thirteen years of age, a parish apprentice with William Ward, of Peak Forest, went from George Bowden's house, of Lane-side, about five of the clock in the morning towards her master's house, sat down upon George Bowden's part in Peaslow between two rutts, and staid that day, and the next, and the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday following. Two of which days, viz. the 15th and 16th, were the most severe for snowing and driving that hath been seen in the memory of man, and was found alive on the Monday, about one of the clock, by William Jackson, of Sparrowpit, and William Longden, of Peak Forest, and after a slender refreshment of a little hot milk, was carried to her master's house, and is now, March 25, 1717, very well, only a little stiffness in her limbs. This was the Lord's doing, and will be marvellous in future generations. She ate no meat during the six days, nor was hungry, but very thirsty and slept much."

On leaving the church the members returned to the hotel, where a meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Nathan Heywood. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman gave the pedigree of the Frith Webster family, and recited Squire

Frith's Hunting Song. Afterwards Mr. Moorhouse read a paper on the church. The meeting was brought to a close by Mr. William Harrison proposing a vote of thanks to the rector of the church and also to Mr. De Jongh.

Saturday, September 14th, 1889.

POTT SHRIGLEY.

The members of the Society visited Pott Shrigley church, and, favoured with fine weather, saw that beautiful and interesting place under exceptional circumstances. On arrival at Bollington station, the party, under the guidance of Mr. S. E. Haworth, proceeded to Shrigley Park, where by permission of Mrs. Lowther, they inspected the very slight remains of the old hall. The Rev. Dr. T. E. Clark, the incumbent, received the party at the church, and a careful examination was made of the building under his guidance. Mr. Swindells, of Pott Hall, also contributed many interesting reminiscences of the church, and was able to point out the position formerly occupied by the rood-screen and other objects of interest.

Mr. Clark read a few notes about the church (or more correctly chapel), including some passages from the will of Geoffry Downes, founder of this chantry or chapel, in which he gives elaborate rules for the conduct of the priests of the chapel, and directs that they shall keep "noe horse, ne hawke, ne hounde, ne nothing that should destroy or lett him from the service of God." There are three bells, all good ones and of exceptionally sweet tone. The two older ones were there before the Reformation, and the third was cast in 1607 by the famous founder Henry Oldfield, of Nottingham. The clock in the tower bears the inscription, "Major Scholfield, Manchester, 1809."

Mr. Albert Nicholson exhibited an ancient deed, dated June 9th, 1598 (40 Elizabeth), being a memorandum concerning the forest of Macclesfield, in which mention is made

of a member of the Downes family, who at that time owned Shrigley, and also of the ancient Cheshire families of Legh, Manwaring, Sutton, Leighe of Rydge, William, Earl of Derby, and others.

The party was afterwards very hospitably entertained at the vicarage, by Mrs. Clark, who, with the Rev. Dr. Clark, received the cordial thanks of the members of the Society.

Friday, October 11th, 1889.

The opening meeting of the winter session was held at the Chetham Library, Mr. W. E. A. Axon in the chair.

The Chairman congratulated the Society on its continued prosperity. Those of them who remembered the foundation of the Society knew that it was not without some misgiving that another Archæological Association was founded, but he thought they could all say now that their most sanguine anticipations of usefulness had been greatly exceeded in the work the Society had done, and by the position which it now occupied. The principal of the British Museum library, at the meeting of the Library Association in London, last week, remarked that the reason why on various occasions the British Museum had made extensive purchases of local charters and other ancient documents was that there was no body in the district able or willing to undertake the duty, and that he was strongly in favour of the accumulation of historical documents and evidences of the past in the districts to which they belonged. The members of this Society might do something in this direction. Whenever an old hall was dismantled or an old legal firm gave up business, a mass of ancient documents was thrown upon the market, and went generally, he was afraid, to the waste dealer to be destroyed. He exhibited a document of the fifteenth century, which related to Ashton-under-Lyne, and contained some interesting local names, and which was one of a whole basketful of similar documents that went a begging at a sale at a country

house in Lancashire. He was glad to say that the Lancashire and Cheshire Society was making a start itself in the collection and preservation of such documents, and by the kindness and liberality of one member, Mr. Tallent-Bateman, a number of local evidences were coming into the possession of the Society. He hoped that his example might be followed by other members. The Society was to be congratulated on the fact that the district which its operations covered included specimens of every variety of English archæology; and whether the members were interested in pre-historic antiquities, or in the Roman, mediæval, or Elizabethan periods, they would find plenty of material at Ribchester, Chester, Lancaster, Clitheroe, Furness, or Whalley, and in scores of black and white halls which were dotted over the two counties. The past history of the two counties was indeed linked with every department of English history.

The following is a transcript of the deed exhibited by Mr. Axon, and belonging to Mr. Houghton Hague, of Oldham :—

Sciant p'sentes ꝙ futuri qđ ego Joħes de Assheton Miles dedi concessi ꝙ hac p'senti carta mea confirmaui Thome de Longley & Margarete vxr eius heredibꝫ & Assigñ p'dti Thome vnā ꝑcellam terr̃ mee de ꝑco de Assheton que quidem terr̃ iacet inf^{a} clausura campi đci Thome qui vocat^{a} lyme pyttes iuxta ꝑcū de Assheton excumbiū ꝑ vna ꝑcella terr̃ pdti Thome dti campi de lyme pyttes que quidem terr̃ iacet inf^{a} clausura pdti ꝑci de Assheton henđ & tenenđ p'dtam terr̃ p'fuꝑ Thome & Margarete heredibꝫ ꝙ assigñ pdti Thome de capiꝑ đnis feođ illius ꝑ s'incia inde debit ꝙ de iure consueꝑ Et pdtus Johes concedit ꝑ presentes qđ ipe ꝙ heredes sui manutenebūt & sustentab'nt clausura p'dtam inꝑ p'dtm ꝑcū de Assheton & pdtm campū de lyme pyttes sumptibꝫ suis ꝑprijs & expens In cui' rei testiom̃ huic p'senti carte mee sigillū meū apposiñ hijs testibꝫ

Rob'to de Longley
Rad'o de Assheton
Rob'to de Assheton & alijs

Datꝑ apud Assheton duodecimo die ffebruar̃ Anno regni Regis henr̃ sexti post conquestū Angł scđo [Seal gone].

Miss Annie E. F. Barlow, of Bolton, read a paper on a recent visit to some of the explorations in Egypt. The address, which was illustrated by diagrams and views, exhibited by means of the lime light, was of an interesting and instructive character, and gave a graphic account of the work which for the last six years has been carried on by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Saturday, October 12th, 1889.

VISIT TO LEIGH.

Some twenty members visited Leigh to inspect the various objects of antiquarian interest which are to be found in and around this district. The rendezvous was at Glazebury, and here the party were met by the Rev. J. H. Stanning, M.A., vicar of Leigh, who acted as leader. The members were then conveyed to Newchurch Church, Culcheth, where they were met by the Rev. Dr. Black. The church is notable on account of Thomas Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man, being the curate here at one time, the rector being his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, of Winwick. It contains a brass inscription regarding the Holcroft family, and the registers record the marriage of the notorious Colonel Blood, who, in 1671, attempted to steal the regalia from the Tower of London. It was intended to visit Hope Carr Hall, but this was abandoned as there was not time. On arriving at Leigh the party proceeded to the parish church.

Mr. J. E. Worsley, F.S.A., in the course of a paper, read in the Leigh Parish Church, on Sir Thomas Tyldesley, stated that immediately under his feet, where he was then standing, rested the mortal remains of a Christian, a hero, and a gentleman, over whose neglected grave hundreds of heedless feet had passed, until his resting place at length became a matter of tradition, handed down here from father to son, and in 1869, to the best of his belief, known almost to one man only, a curious old man who was clerk and sexton there.

That old man often showed him (Mr. Worsley) where Sir Thomas was believed to be buried. The north aisle was then filled with pews, and, except the beautiful ceiling, had left in it few traces of the old chantry chapel of St. Nicholas, before the site of whose altar the hero's bones lay with those of some of his long line of ancestors. Here for some years he lay forgotten and unrecorded by the little world of Leigh. It was recorded that James, seventh Earl of Derby, when in Leigh on his way to his place of execution at Bolton, wished to visit the grave of his old comrade in arms, but was not permitted to do so. Upon the rebuilding of the church the tradition of the burial place was not forgotten, and as the excavations proceeded great care was taken, with the result that the body of Sir Thomas was discovered. He (Mr. Worsley) was informed of the discovery by a letter written to him by Mr. Passe on the 28th December, 1870, who stated that a large oak coffin, six feet two and a half inches long, and one foot and a half wide, containing the skeleton of some tall and well-formed person, had been found. A similar coffin, five feet eleven inches long, and some fifteen inches wide, was also found near the other, but there was no plate or inscription on either of them. When the restoration of the church was completed a subscription was raised, and by it the brass plate now inserted in the north wall of the chapel was put up. The arms in the margin of the brass are Tyldesley quartering Worsley, brought in by the marriage of Thurston de Tyldesley with Margaret, daughter and heiress of Jordan de Workedeslegh or Worsley, *tempo* Edward II.; and Leyland of Morleys, brought in by the marriage of Edward Tyldesley with Ann, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Leyland of that family, *tempo* Henry VIII. The following is the present inscription on the brass plate in the Leigh Parish Church: "At the east end of the north aisle, formerly the Tyldesley chantry of St. Nicholas, within this ancient parish church, rested the body of Sir Thomas Tyldesley, of Tyldesley, Morleys, and Myerscough, in this county, knight, a major-general in his

Majesty's army, and governor of Lichfield, who was slain fighting gallantly for his royal master under James, seventh Earl of Derby, in the battle of Wigan-lane near this place, on the twenty-fifth day of August, 1651." Thus, after a lapse of over two hundred years, had a memorial to him been placed in the church. But Sir Thomas had made for himself a memorial more lasting than brass. Major Edward Robinson, of the Parliament army, speaking of Sir Thomas, said: "There was not a man in all the country more zealous a servant for the king's part than Colonel Tyldesley, who was a noble and a generous-minded gentleman." It had been well said by one of the biographers of Sir Thomas that he was one of those cavaliers whose deeds were more suited to the pages of a romance than those of history. He was a soldier, and had seen foreign service, and at the beginning of the great Civil War he raised a troop of soldiers for the king at his own cost. He commanded at the storming of Burton-upon-Trent, when the town was stormed over a bridge of thirty-six arches. For this he was knighted by the king and made a brigadier. He fought as lieutenant-colonel at the battle of Edgehill, and was taken prisoner in 1644 at Montgomery. He was at the taking of Bolton under the Earl of Derby, and was in command at the siege of Lancaster. He was governor of Lichfield during its celebrated siege. After the execution of the king he served the royal cause in Ireland under Ormonde, and then in Scotland. He fell at last in the fight in Wigan Lane, whilst endeavouring, with the Earl of Derby, to carry out an act of the greatest daring. The device on his banner was an eagle feeding her young ones from blood flowing from her own breast, surrounded by a wreathed border with the motto: "Regis et patriae tantum valet amor" ("So greatly avails the love of king and country"). A monument commemorative of the fall of this brave soldier was placed, in 1679, about a quarter of a mile to the north of Wigan, in the hedge fence, on the spot where the engagement took place, and where he received his last wound; and upon a brass plate thereto affixed

is the following inscription: "An high act of gratitude which conveys the memory of Sir Thomas Tyldesley to posterity who served King Charles I. as lieutenant-colonel at Edgehill battle after raising regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons, and for the desperate storming of Burton-upon-Trent over a bridge of thirty-six arches, received the honour of knighthood. He afterwards served in all the wars with great command. Was governor of Lichfield, and followed the fortune of the Crown through three kingdoms, and never compounded with the rebels, though strongly invested; and on the 25th of August, A.D. 1651, was here slain commanding as Major General under the Earl of Derby, to whom the grateful erector, Alexander Rigby, Esq., was cornet, and when he was High Sheriff of this county (A.D. 1679) placed this high obligation on the whole family of the Tyldesleys to follow the noble example of their loyal ancestor." The family of Tyldesley derived its name from the lordship of Tyldesley, anciently part of the Leigh parish, and the pedigree commenced with Henry de Tyldesley. His grandson, Thurston, acquired Wardley, in Worsley, by his marriage; and his son, Thomas de Tyldesley, was serjeant-at-law to Henry IV. From Thurston descended, in the fifth generation, Thomas Tyldesley, who was receiver-general to Thomas, Earl of Derby, and his son, Thurston, was, in 1532, receiver-general for the Isle of Man. His son Edward acquired Morleys, in Astley, by his marriage, and from him descended in the second generation Edward Tyldesley, of Tyldesley, Morleys, and Myerscough, who entertained King James I. at Myerscough on his progress through Lancashire; and Sir Thomas, our hero, was his eldest son. Of the descendants of Sir Thomas, his son Edward, who married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Fleetwood, was one of those royalists whose names were on the list for the intended order of knighthood of the Royal Oak, and who suffered, as did all the adherents to the Stuarts, from neglect and ingratitude. His son married Mary, daughter of Alexander Rigby, son and heir of the erector of the monument in Wigan Lane; and his son

Thomas, following the traditions of his family, joined Prince James in 1715. On the defeat of the Pretender he was tried for high treason, but acquitted. His son, James Tyldesley, again proved his loyalty to the Stuarts by serving Prince Charles Edward in 1745, and with him the prosperity of the family ended. The chantry chapel of St. Nicholas, called the Tyldesley Chapel, in which Sir Thomas lies buried, is believed to have been erected at the same time as the tower, namely, at the end of the fifteenth century. The roof is all that remains of the building. Mr. Worsley after expressing his belief that the chantry was built by Sir William Leyland, of Morleys, knight, concluded his interesting address by pointing out that now, under a constitutional government, they were able to realise Sir Thomas Tyldesley's motto.

The Vicar said he might take the opportunity of saying a little to them about the parish church, which was, at any rate, quite distinct from the parish of Leigh. There was nothing old at the church with the exception of a few things which he had pointed out, except the brass to Henry Travice, of Light Oaks. To Mr. Worsley, he ought to say, they were indebted for the brass to Sir Thomas Tyldesley in the north wall. He took the matter in hand, got subscriptions, and they had the result in the brass they saw. And he might call their attention to the way in which it was placed in the wall, which was one of the best methods he had seen. Mr. Worsley, too, was the historian of the parish church of Leigh, and he had written a small book dealing, as far as was known, with the history of the parish church of Leigh. There were a few further particulars which he (the speaker) had obtained, though they did not go any further back than what Mr. Worsley had been able to go. They did not know the first date of the preaching of the gospel there, or of the first building of the church. Mr. Paley, the architect of the present church, believed the old one to have been built as early as 1616, in fact the figures 1616 were found on a principal of the old roof. The old church was not

quite on the same site as the present one, which had been moved northwards. The old nave was very much narrower, and the old floor was eighteen inches below the present one. There was nothing interesting in the old church except the Tyldesley Chapel and the Atherton chantry. The latter was given up by Lord Lilford when the church was rebuilt twenty years ago. The first reference to Leigh church they could get at was 1264, when on the 29th of January of that year a complaint was made by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, he seeking the king's aid against certain parties who had seized the churches of Leigh, Bury, and Winwick. Leigh was in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry before the time of the Reformation, when it was taken out of the old diocese and put in the newly-formed diocese of Chester. In later years it became a question whether Leigh should be left in the old diocese of Chester, or put in the new diocese of Manchester. The late vicar was a man who had many fights with his bishop about various things, and when he was asked by the Bishop of Chester which diocese he preferred, he answered that he preferred to be near his bishop; therefore he would be in the diocese of Manchester. The bishop replied that the late vicar might not always think it an advantage to be near the bishop. It was put in the diocese of Manchester, but when the diocese of Liverpool was formed it became a question whether Leigh should be in the new diocese of Liverpool or not. This ancient parish is in the hundred of West Derby, the only portion of that hundred not in the diocese of Liverpool. He thought it would be much better if ecclesiastical and civil boundaries coincided. There had once been litigation touching upon the right of presentation. In the course of it there was a certain charter of Richard de Urmston referred to, and in that reference was made to the church as dedicated to St. Peter. When the church was rebuilt it was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, he (the vicar) being under the impression at the time that the old church was dedicated to St Mary. In the old days the church was

over and over again called the Church of Westleigh. The ancient parish of Leigh comprised six townships, viz., Astley (or East Leigh), Tyldesley, Westleigh, Atherton, Pennington, and Bedford. The church itself stood in two townships, the body of the church being in Westleigh and the chancel in Pennington. One other curious fact was that in 1450 the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry was a William Booth—one of the Booths of Barton—and he was previously the rector of Leigh. In the old church the extraordinary custom of cursing by bell, book, and candle was observed in 1474. It was in connection with the forging of certain deeds. One Sunday there came a man named Nicholas Rylands, who took an oath that the deeds were not forged. The vicar cursed him, if he was guilty, by bell, book, and candle, and, as the candle went out, the vicar cursed those who had aided Rylands in forging the deeds. In the seventeenth century a complaint was made about the rabble outside throwing stones on to the roof of the church and disturbing the congregation. About 1693 the parishioners of Leigh thought it desirable to add a fifth bell to the four old ones, and this was done. It was stated that Queen Elizabeth caused the other four bells to be hung. To defray the cost of the fifth bell, which was £60, a call was made on each of the six parishes to contribute £10. They had now a peal of eight bells, varying from ten to twenty-one hundredweight in weight. With regard to the new work, he might mention that they had put in the east window within the last month, and they hoped by this time next year to have a reredos and also a chancel screen, when the work in the church would be getting more complete.

The vicar then conducted the visitors into the vestry, where they were shown the church registers dating from 1597, two books which at one time were chained in the church; a piece of wood taken from the roof bearing the figures 1616, and three old constables' staves. Afterwards the Grammar School was visited, and the various matters of interest explained by Mr. Ward, the headmaster. In the

lower portion of the school was a man trap, the property of Mr. Richard Barton, of Westleigh Lodge, and an unique book-case for the school library, a brass plate attached having on the inscription, "All left of the books given to the Grammar School of Leigh by Ralph Pilling, master from 1699 to 1726, are placed herein." The books referred to were placed on the desks of the upper school for inspection.

Mr. James Ward referred to the history of the school and the school library. The date of the foundation of the school has never been correctly ascertained. The earliest reference was in the will of Mr. James Starkie, a tailor of Pennington, who was buried in Leigh Churchyard in June, 1614, and who bequeathed 40s. towards a free grammar school for Leigh. There are records of a Mr. Worthington being master in 1641-2. Then one Symon Karsley was schoolmaster, and was succeeded by John Battersbie. Mr. Battersbie was probably the first master under a regular endowment by Mr. John Ranicar, of Atherton, who by will dated 16th August, 1655, left a yearly sum of £5 arising out of two pieces of land in Leigh, called the Black Fields. A further endowment of £6 per annum, secured on the corn tithe of Pennington, was added in 1681 by Mr. Richard Bradshaw, of Pennington, who had previously given a house to keep the school in, and whose name was written in several of the volumes in the library. To Mr. Ralph Pilling, who became master in June, 1699, they were indebted for the library. In 1722 Ralph Pilling gave the yearly interest of £10 for an annual sermon in Leigh Church upon New Year's Day. Previous to the election of Mr. Ralph Pilling, a Mr. Samuel Simpson was master. Succeeding Mr. Pilling was John Norris, of Bolton, and in 1736 Thomas Barn, of Pleasington, occupied the master's chair. During the present century the following have successively held the mastership:—T. Hodgkinson, A. Hargreaves, Rev. James Simpson, Rev. Joseph Finlinson, Samuel Twist, R. W. A. Scott, B.A., Robert Wilson, and Mr. Ralph Passe, the late respected master, who was appointed in 1863 and

resigned at Christmas, 1885. Mr. Ward afterwards went on to refer to the school library. He said that forty-eight volumes of Heskin's library still remain, but they have been much mutilated, only one or two being perfect. Many of the books were probably given after the completion of the new schoolhouse in 1719. They were indebted to Mr. Rose for rescuing that library, for he cleaned and examined the books and published in the *Leigh Chronicle** Scrap Book an annotated catalogue, which unfortunately was not reprinted. Mr. J. E. Bailey also materially assisted in the work. The library now consists of about one hundred and twenty volumes, most of them in bad condition. A suitable bookcase had been provided for the books in response to an appeal made to the old boys by Mr. Rose, and the books will be therein placed, along with several old documents relating to the school. The lecturer concluded by noticing the books of special interest.

At the close of the paper, Mr. Nicholson proposed and Captain French seconded a vote of thanks to the vicar and the readers of papers, which was carried with acclamation.

A meeting was held after tea, when Mr. Stanning, as chairman, opened the business, and in doing so referred to the Holcrofts, of Holcroft, as being at one time a powerful family. He called the attention of the visitors to two pictures which were hanging on the wall, and which illustrated Leigh Church and Market Place as they used to be, the avenue and the old Atherton Hall, which he said cost £60,000 to build. The frontage of the old hall was one hundred feet, the great hall forty-five long by thirty-six feet, and some of the rooms were also very large. The old church, he said, used to be a very low building, and the tower, which was now standing, appeared to be very tall, but now that the body of the church had been raised the tower looked considerably less.

A paper by Mr. Josiah Rose, on the Old Time Asso-

* See Christie's *Old Lancashire Libraries*, p. 182.

ciations of Leigh, was afterwards read by Mr. William Norbury.

The members then paid a visit to the Literary Society's Rooms and Reference Library.

Saturday, October 26th, 1889.

VISIT TO BARLOW HALL.

The members paid a visit to Barlow Hall, the residence of Sir William Cunliffe Brooks, Bart., M.P., the President of the Society, the party comprising about sixty or seventy persons. The first item on the programme of the day's proceedings consisted of the photographing of the whole of the members by the Chevalier Lafosse. After tea, the party was conducted by Sir William Brooks over the grounds and gardens.

Sir William first led his guests into the ancient courtyard, where the best fragment of the hall in preservation is to be seen, the period of which is believed to be that of the reign of Henry VIII. Here Sir William pointed out the various features of interest, and set forth his opinions as to the formation of the ancient hall when in its entirety. Amongst other things it had contained a noble banqueting hall about sixty feet long and thirty wide. And he was of opinion that there was one long hall in which the family, guests, servants, dogs, and all who sought shelter within the walls, passed the night during troubled times, in order to find themselves safe in the morning. He spoke of the word "menial," which, in these days, was supposed to convey a stigma, but in former times indicated a title of trust and position, as it really meant "within the walls" (mœnia). He might be wrong, but he believed that Chorlton-cum-Hardy was Churls' Town, Hardy being a facile corruption of Ardern, signifying wood. And thus Chorlton-cum-Hardy meant churls who lived in the wood in contradistinction to those who lived with the

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master. The front door of the old hall looked to the north, and the porch could be seen quite distinctly. The building was of wood and wattle, because in those days bricks and stones were inaccessible. After a reference to the origin and value of "blue stones" (of which there were one or two in the building, and which in Scotland were called heathen stones, because they were not building stones, nor granite, nor in any sense useful for Christian work), Sir William took the party to where the ancient front entrance stood, which is now bricked in, but the porch still stands; also to a point on the lawn which he described as having been originally the bank of the river Mersey. In another part of the grounds the visitors were shown the remnants of an ancient avenue of stately elms. Two chestnut trees connected with family associations were pointed out, also an old stone pipe, one of those which supplied Manchester with water, and gave the name of "stone pipe" water to the supply. This piping was of Bath oolite. Then Sir William paused near the moat of water at the bottom of the terrace, and gave his hearers to understand that Barlow Hall, like any other old building that is worth anything at all, possessed its own particular ghost. In fact, said he, there were three ghosts, one a beneficent ghoul in yellow breeches, who carried coals for the ladies, &c.; and a second story tells that one night some man placed himself in the scullery copper, dressed as a ghost was said to be, and so frightened one of the servants, whether from fear of consequences or an act of vengeance was never known, that his body was found in the Mersey. Another ghost was connected with an ancient gun which still hung in the kitchen, and in former days no servant would have stayed in the house if the gun had been taken down, because a lady with her head under her arm would have appeared at night. The third ghost was said to be up stairs, and reputed to walk three times round the house. He believed there was a kind of whispering gallery there, for he had heard noises resembling the patter of feet, or dash of water, and there was some sad tale of a girl, whose baby was killed or drowned, and it was said that a

curse rested on the place that no child should ever be born at Barlow Hall until that ghost was appeased. "It fell to me," said Sir William, "that the curse was broken by the birth of the present Marchioness of Huntly, and the ghost was appeased. And now you have a recipe for laying ghosts." An ancient beech, with branches sweeping the ground, was the next object of attention. A copper beech had been engrafted on an ordinary beech, and the old trunk was still encircled with the deep mark of the grafting. This completed the inspection of the grounds, and the party entered the house. The activity, animation, versatility, and humour which Sir William displayed in his temporary office as cicerone quite astonished and delighted the visitors, who trooped closely at his heels as he passed quickly from one object of interest to another, and descanted—now with a touch of pathos and again with a flash of humour—upon everything that could possibly attract the attention and arouse the interest of the party.

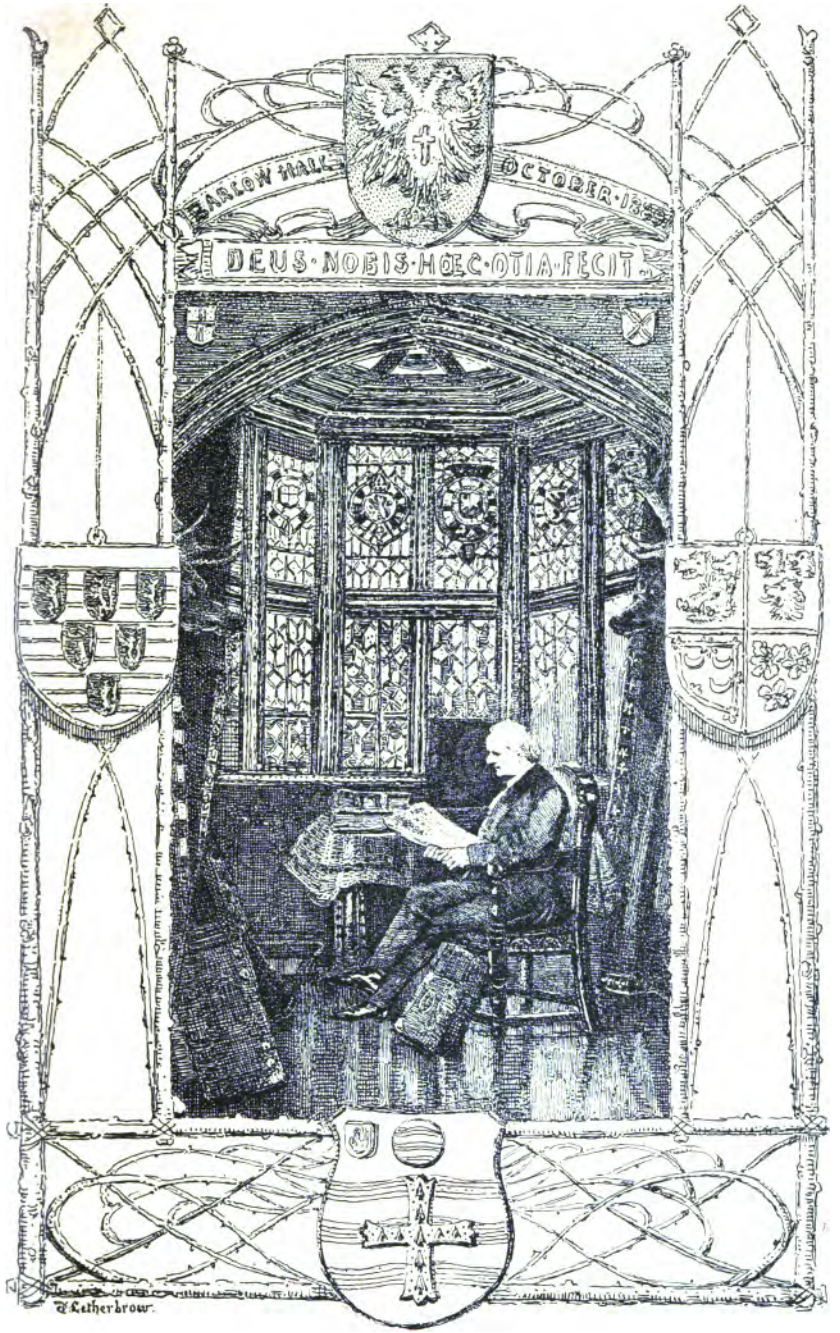
A meeting was afterwards held in the dining hall. Sir William C. Brooks presided, supported by Lady Brooks.

The President said: I am very much honoured and greatly pleased at your having come here to-day. It is a very great satisfaction to myself and my dear wife to bid you welcome, and show you every possible care and attention. It is a very happy thing for us that we live in the age in which we do. Perhaps those who come after us may have yet greater cause for thankfulness for their era of existence, and if they do, no little praise will be gratefully given to societies like this, whose members are now gathered around me. Your duty and your pleasure is to take note of every object of interest left to us by antiquity, and to endeavour to show to the world the uses of much that may have appeared obscure, and the advantages, and often the great beauty, of what otherwise might pass neglected. It is but within my memory that such things were but carelessly attended to, and certainly in the unhappy period of the first and second Georges,

the whole world seemed slumbering in idleness, and reposing on the good done by their predecessors, without, it must be said, attempting much to carry science forward in the world. But within about the time I am speaking of, when I came into active work, forty or fifty years ago, we passed through a time of sad critical danger, when we began to see and know what were the treasures that lay before us, and how some of them were in a state of ruin, and our natural feeling sprang forward to redeem them, and with 'prentice hands, alas, much valuable work was often badly restored. And in that bad restoration more harm was done than by leaving these monuments of antiquity to the yet further action of the tooth of time. But happily we have now arrived at a yet further period, and as you, my brother antiquaries, all know, when we approach a work of antiquity our first feeling is that of reverence for it, and our next feeling that of care for it Instead of touching with a single hand, we called together all those yet wiser than ourselves, and many minds are brought to bear in connection upon the point which it first seemed difficult to understand, and it is by efforts like yours that we have succeeded in finding out the history and mystery of much that before was obscure. I congratulate this Society most heartily on its having been formed in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, which are so abundant in historic and antiquarian works, and I confidently predict for this Society a happy and prosperous future. You can be engaged in no work (except that of relieving suffering humanity) that is likely to be more beneficial to future times, and I am sure that future times will look back with thankfulness upon the formation of the Society which I have the pleasure to welcome here to-day.

Sir William then proceeded to point out from where he stood several objects of interest in the room. Amongst these was a piece of wood and wattle of which the house was built, Sir William remarking that when the lamented fire took place this piece of wood was taken out, and it showed the mark of the wood behind and the wattle placed upon it.

They would find it was clay and straw which had been worked until it practically excluded the weather. Plaster and cement were put on the other side, and rendered the house quite impregnable to wind and weather. The next curiosity was a piece of wood which Sir William considered very remarkable, but of which nothing was known except that it was found amongst the ruins after the fire. If they looked at it carefully they would see tool work of almost microscopic delicacy. It appeared to be of an ecclesiastical character, and he presumed it was part of a chapel, and that the shrine was exceedingly small, and therefore the work was adapted to its size. The third curio was an old green bottle, with ancient wine stains upon it, and it was so old that it had not got a "kick" in it. It used to be said that no wine crust would adhere to a blue bottle, and as this crusted appearance was valued, it was declared that no maker of blue bottles would go to heaven. Sir William next exhibited a picture of the old Manchester Infirmary with a sort of moat in front. After this came an interesting reminiscence of the Barlow family, an ancient punch bowl and stick affording a kind of text. The family of Barlow, observed Sir William, fell into decadence, as powerful families do, and all their land was sold. It was one hundred and fifty years ago since the last Dame Barlow was obliged to surrender all her lands. She never thought she would surrender all her power, because to her dying day she retained a firm grasp of the key of the front door of the hall, and she firmly believed that so long as she had the key no one could dispossess her of her rights; but all the effects were sold. One of our friends brought us the punch bowl of the Barlow family as having been preserved since her time, and been in those days an object of great admiration, and even, when full, of worship. It shows how kindly disposed people are, for at that sale the staff of Dame Barlow was also sold. It was not much to sell, a mere stick, but it was purchased by a family who thought the stick should come into possession of the tenant at Barlow Hall, and they very kindly presented it to me. I



Oriel Window, Barlow Hall.

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have put the name of Dame Barlow and the emblazoning of her arms on it, so that it may be known in future years as the staff of Dame Barlow.

Mr. George Esdaile read the following paper, The Barlows of Barlow: When one looks at the long list of names in the pedigrees of the former owners of these lands, and this old historic site, one feels with intensity the words of the poet, and one seems

> Like one who treads alone
> Some banquet-hall deserted,
> Whose lights are fled,
> Whose garlands are dead,
> And all but he departed.

The ground is here, but the family of twenty generations has disappeared, leaving a store of deeds and charters for our perusal;* and from these may be deduced a pedigree of Barlow de Barlow which, in all its generations, can be fully vouched for; and, strange as it may seem, there is another—which I have called that of Barlow de Slebeth—side by side with the one last named, which presents to us another line of the original stock; and each line, "de Barlow," because originally seated on Barlow lands, and varying its position with the shifting times, alternately with a head, as squire, knight of the shire, burgess in Parliament, belted knight of high renown, or baronet, till by successive alienations, by the owners or by the state or through distaffs, the Barlows, denuded of their lands, disappear from view. One of the earliest (undated) deeds in the series points out how some of the lands of the "vil" of Barlow were acquired. "I Alexander son of William Albini of Sale give to Thomas de Barlow all my land &c. in the 'vil' of Barlow" (Harl. MSS. 2112, fol. 172). On emerging from the misty past, there are some interesting deeds of the family which throw

* Amongst the Harleian MS. 2112, fol. 172-4; Lancashire Pedigrees in Raines' MS., vol. xxv., &c.; Palmer MS.; *Palatine Note-book*, vol. iv.; Booker's *Didsbury and Chorlton*, see index and pp. 179, 180, 252.

considerable light on our path, and give us quite a précis of the pedigree of the Barlows of Barlow at that early date. "I Amicia daughter of Roger de Barlow give to Roger the son of Thomas de Barlow half a bovate of land in Barlow which my father gave me in free marriage." This Amicia had been the wife but was then the widow of Hamo de Barlow, at the time of the completion of this undated deed (Harl. MS. 2112, fol. 172). In another document we meet with Roger* de Barlow, senior, Roger,† his son, and Agnes, his wife; and Roger, the son of the said Roger, and Agnes, his wife; Thurstan fitz Henry; Thomas, son of Roger de Barlow, senior (Harl. MS., *ibid.*). A deed of 1398 gives us John, the son of Roger de Barlow, whose wife was Margery; and another indenture of 18th August, 1451-2, supplies the information that Nicholas was the son and heir of a second John or Jenkin de Barlow and Annes or Johanna, the daughter of Richard Holland; thus bringing the pedigree down to the historic period of the Herald's Visitations by Benalt in 1533, to be succeeded by Flower, St. George, and Dugdale, from whose papers the Barlow de Barlow pedigree has been drawn. The wonderful sequence of descent, as shown in the deeds I have mentioned, gives a fatal blow to the malformed pedigree given in Baines' first edition, ii. 394, the first six generations of which are a muddle of facts relating equally to the main stem as to the cadet branch of "Slebeth," to which I shall shortly allude; as well as containing an insertion of fiction for which I have not found any warrant. For a similar reason also must the pedigree in the Palmer MSS., p. 384, be rejected, as the before-mentioned deed of 1398 accounts for the parentage of John as the son and grandson of a Roger de Barlow, who held the Barlow lands, according to Palmer, from 1320 to 1400. It is also singular that the mist of antiquity or the haze of uncertainty has so far prevailed that little or no

* Witness to a charter, see *Coucher of Whalley*, p. 931.
† Raines' MSS.

notice has been taken, by those interested in such matters, of the undated charter of Sybilla, the daughter of Uchtred and Margaret, wherein she gave to Thomas de Barlow all her land in the vill of Barlow, and to which grant Hugh de Stretford was one of the witnesses (Harl. MS., *ibid.*). This Thomas, the grantee, I take to be the Thomas, the future head of the house of Slebeth, who thereupon entered into possession of the lands so conveyed, and became the head of a line of Barlows living on "Barlow" lands; and these lands, we know, were Barlow in Withington and in Chorlton and in Hardy. Now will fit in the four succeeding generations, partially given by Baines, represented by James of Barlow, who married the daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, of Heaton Norris; his son, Sir Richard de Barlow, whose wife was the daughter of Thomas Entwisle, of Withington; his son, Sir Robert de Barlow, who married Ursula, the daughter of Sir John Byron; and his son, Roger. In confirmation of this statement we have in the Harl. MS. 2112, fol. 173, a deed in which Roger de Barlow, son of Roger de Barlow, gives to Roger, the son of *Robert* de Barlow and his heirs, all his right in Barlow. Now we may search in vain for these four men—three Rogers and one Robert—in either pedigree at any one time; they can only be found in both, at this given time and place, furnishing a second proof that two families named Barlow were coexistent for some definite period on Barlow lands; just as we find the Leghs, of High Legh and East Legh, separated only by the wall of their respective gardens. It is also to be noted, in support of the theory of a concurrent family of Barlow living in Barlow, side by side with the Barlows of Barlow, that when in 1641-2, on the occasion of the national protest, whilst Sir Alexander Barlow, the Lady Barlow, M'ris Elizabeth Barlow, M'ris Mary Barlow, M'ris Anne Barlow, M'ris Ann Holland, and Mr. Thomas Barlow were recusants, there were in Chorlton, James and William Barlow; in Houghend, Richard Barlow; in Hardy, Alexander and John Barlow returned as Protestants. Further down the "Slebeth" pedigree to the grandson

of the Roger last named, we have Richard, who married the daughter of Sir John Townley, as witness to a deed of 1396-7, wherein Thomas Davey and Reginald Boylton granted the manor of Barlow to John Barlow de Barlow (Harl. MS., *ibid.*); and in this we have another confirmation of the coincidence and concurrence of the family lines, for in each pedigree, at the date named, we find the persons as heads of either house of Barlow. To further multiply proofs as to the various representatives of the families at different times, in 1398-9, Nicholas de Prestwich, chaplain, makes a grant to Margery de Barlow, with remainder to John, the son of Roger de Barlow (Harl. MS., *ibid.*). In the Christian name of this chaplain we possibly have the origin of the name of the grandchild of John de Barlow, senior. In 1400-1, H. de Barlow gives land at Wythinton, in which the vill of Barlow lies, to his son William, with remainder to John, son of Roger de Barlow; and in 1407-8, Hugh de Barlow grants land in Barlow to John Barlow, senior (Harl. MS., *ibid.*). In a deed of Nicholas,* son and heir of Jenkin Barlow of Barlow and Annes, his wife, land is granted to one Richard Barlow, whom we find in the corresponding generation in the Slebeth pedigree. In this pedigree, which I have called "Barlow of Slebeth," we find in the earlier generations that heads of the house followed the formerly time-honoured custom of marrying over the mixen rather than over the moor, as witness the daughter of the Worsley, knight, of Heaton Norris;† the daughter of Entwisle,‡ of Withington; the daughter of the Byron, knight, of Clayton; the daughter of Gamble; the daughter of Sir Rowland or Sir Robert Sherwood; the daughter of Sir John Townley; the daughter of Sir Thomas Sherborne; the daughter of Sir William Strangeways, of Heaton Norres;§ and the daughter

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* Harl. MSS. 2112, fol. 174.

† Booker's *Didsbury*, p. 179. Inquis. Post-mortem, 1 Henry V. — 27 Henry VIII. ‡ Booker, p. 120.

§ Booker's *Didsbury*, p. 180, and Inquis. Post-mortem, 7 Jac. i.

of Sir Ralph Longford, of the Hough,* or Hoo's End and of Longford, county Derby. From this date this line married over the moor, possibly a sign of its decreasing wealth, which wealth was taken from John de Barlow,† the head of the house, 5 Henry VIII., and given to Vere, Earl of Oxford, and he himself committed to the Tower for harbouring his brother-in-law, Barley, and Sir Robert Clifford, who had married his wife's sister. After this time the family went afield, to fight in the Venetian and other foreign services, and then settled in Slebeth and Narberth, Pembrokeshire, disappearing entirely from the Barlow lands here; to be extinguished there also at the close of the last century. Another matter respecting the Slebeth pedigree which should be mentioned is that the earlier portion is said by his enemies to have been compiled by or for Bishop Barlow, to support his dignity on the episcopal bench. However this may be, if he were of the family of Barlow de Barlow, he had a share in a sterling pedigree of length, even at that time, and therefore had no necessity to compile another; and if that other be a compilation from the brain of a herald of the day, or of the bishop, or of his son-in-law, Toby Mathews, then he or they evidently either had access to the charter chest of the cadet branch, or pressed the art of weaving into every line of the new pedigree such a number of conclusive facts and coincidences, that would at once take it out of the pale of fiction, and leave it as the record of a line of Barlows of Barlow that had an indubitable past.

Mr. Thomas Worthington exhibited the following deed from the collection of Mr. Tatton, of Wythenshawe:—

"M^d^ In alsmekul as hit is almes & ameritori thyng by fore god to record a truthe as tovching the variaus of a were y^t^ is by twene William of Tatton & Iankyn of Barlaw the queche is put in gou'nance of Syr Richard of Radcliff by asent

* Booker, p. 113.

† *Memoranda Paschæ Recorda*, 2 Henry VIII., Rot. 23.

"I Gefron of legh of Echeles ber' this record yat huchon of the Brome y^{t} was lord of half the tovne of Northerdene at his last day made Jankyn of legh my brother & me astate in his lond & to our' see his wyff his childer & his godes & in especial charget vs to take xvj^{s} [sixteen shillings] of Iankyn of Barlaw y^{t} was hoghyng to the fforsaide huchon ffor his p'te of the tachement of Barlaw wer'

"M^{d} Also another evydens of recorde of olt tyme afore this yat is trew yat huchon of the Brome Borowt a hors at Iankyn of Barlaw to ride opon to Chest^{r} to the Schyr' [Schyr=Shiremoot] the queche hors hongknt hymself in a haltur at Chest^{r} & quen he come home he acordet w^{t} Jankyn of Barlaw ffor the pryse of the hors and then Jankyn of Barlaw on his ovne volunte knalaget y^{t} he aght serten Rent to the same hugh ffor his pte of the tachement & so yai wer' agreet befor me & mony other yat the same Jankyn schuld holde stil in his ovne hond the rent of the tachēnt in p'cell of payment of the prise of the hors & the rēnand to bepayet at sertayn daies afft^{r}

"Allso I Iohn Wilkynson prest of Northerden ber' this recorde that in the secund yer' aft^{r} yat S^{r} [Sir=Reverend] Richard of Paldene was made p'son of Northerden Jankyn of Barlaw the Elder come in to the p'sonage off Northerden & saide to me he couthe put my maister' the p'son to a p'fet [p'fet=profit] & he wold be gode felagh & I asket hym on quat wyse & he saide yat Rob^{t} of Tatton & hug' of the Brome shuld have the rent of the tachement no longur but the p'son shuld have hit & he wold be gode ffelagh in als mekell as the Chyrge [Chyrge=Church] lond legh [legh=lay] anendes the wer' ffor h^{t} was more lekele to be his then hors

"Also I William the Hunt of Northerden ber' recorde y^{t} I went w^{t} hug' of y^{e} Brome to the hall of Barlaw sone afft^{r} y^{t} he hadd bild his hall new to aske rent y^{t} was by hynde ffor tachement of the wer' of Iankyn of Barlaw & he knalage y^{t} he so dede & prayet hym y^{t} he wold gyf hym sum quat towardes the Bildyng off his hall & the forsaide hugh' saide

he wolde & gyff hym p'cell off the dette & ffor the tother p'te off the Rent the same Jankyn delyūet to ye saide hug' Schepe a sertayn & also bothe Cart tymbur & haro tymbur [timber for carts and timber for harrows] & thonkut hym mekull y^{t} he wold so take his rent & aft^{r} that I fochet p'cell of the tymbur to the saide hug' of the Brome

"Also I hug' of Shelton of Northerden ber' recorde y^{t} I was in p'sens w^{t} Robert of Tatton & hug' of the Brome at Barlaw fer' [fer' = Fair] at a daye by twene Jankyn of Barlow & the saide Rob't & hug' abowte y^{e} tachement of the same wer' y^{t} was in variance by twene yam the same tyme and ther' thai wer' acordet by trete of S^{r} Rob't bukhart that tyme p'son of Northerden Ralyu [? Rali*u* = Rali*v* = Ralph] of Barlaw of Didusbury William of Kenworthay Ralyu Corbyn & other mo y^{t} the forsaide Jankyn of Barlaw shuld paye to the said Rob't & Hug' viij^{s} by yer'

"And to all this evydens aboue wreton y^{t} thai sothe & trew ben we the forsaide Geferay John William & hug' we will stonde bye befor god and mon And to this recorde we setten to oure seles"

* * * *

[Endorsed]

"A Testimonyall wherby it may appere that viij^{s} rent was payed by barlowe for the attachement of his weyre."

[Also endorsed]

"Conc'nyng a tachement of barlow weyre."

Mr. Worthington drew attention to several interesting points in this curious document, and presented the following notes on some names occurring in it: William of Tatton was living in 1426, *temp.* Henry VI. Syr Richard of Radcliffe was living *temp.* Henry VI. Gefron of Legh was, according to Ormerod, fifth son of Thomas Legh, of Baguley, and was living in 1423, *temp.* Henry VI. S^{r} [Sir] Richard of Paldene was presented to the living of Northenden on June 5th, 1402. R. Spark succeeded him in October, 1418. Rob^{t} of Tatton was probably the R. T. who married Alice

Masey, the heiress of Wythenshawe, in 1370. Robt Bukhart (or Bukhard) was presented to the living of Northenden in December, 1383. Geferay, John, William, were all sons of Thomas Legh, of Baguley.

Mr. Nathan Heywood laid on the table a collection of rare coins, and read an essay on the "Historical Value of Ancient Coins and Inscriptions." Photographs of old halls in the neighbourhood, arms, and other objects of interest were also exhibited.

Mr. T. Letherbrow proposed a vote of thanks to Sir William C. Brooks and Lady Brooks. He said the predominating sentiment was one of gratitude for the exceptionally kind, cordial, and he might say splended reception which had been afforded to the Society. The Society had for the first time the pleasure of meeting its new and distinguished president, and they had enjoyed the pleasure of hearing him speak with his wonted energy and fire. He had taken them all round that beautiful domain, and explained to them with the greatest circumstantiality and clearness all the salient points of the place. It must have been evident to everyone who had been through the house that the presiding hand and mind in the place had been those of the pure antiquary, that was to say, of the man who conserves, upholds, and restores. There was not a place in the neighbourhood of Manchester more in accordance with the wishes and tastes of the Society than Barlow Hall. It was an excellent specimen of the architecture of a bygone age, and as to the site, it took them back to a remote period of antiquity. It was difficult to believe that when the Crusades were agitating the world there was a family residing there. It was interesting to note that the hall had been the dwelling-place of a man of deep piety and high character, who preferred death to dishonour. Sir William had spoken of the reverence which everyone ought to display with regard to those works of art which come into our possession, and we find that wherever Sir William goes he carries out that idea. A typical instance of this came to his notice when he (Mr. Letherbrow) was in Scotland. When

Sir William made his home in Glen Tana he found a church, a tabernacle in the wilderness. It was in utter ruin, and the cattle made it their resting-place. Sir William rebuilt the church; it rose like a phœnix from its ashes; and now, with an inner roof of rustic work and an outer one of thatch, the bell of St. Lesmo still summons people to prayer, as it did in forgotten years. If Sir William had not been driven into Parliament neither Lancashire nor Cheshire would have furnished a more devoted antiquary than he, and also if his time had not been taken up with a great commercial enterprise. But they hoped Sir William would in Parliament promote the objects of the Society by assisting in the advancement of those measures of legislation having for their object the preservation of national monuments. Sir William had captivated all hearts, and there was not a man or woman amongst them who would not receive his name with enthusiasm in future. The only drawback was that he must take a second place, as Lady Brooks came first.

Alderman Bailey seconded the resolution. He said they had been charmed by the wit and wisdom of Sir William, and so delighted by the way in which he had taken them round the grounds, that it was only excelled in their minds by the grace and dignity of Lady Brooks. They would have a pleasant recollection of the kindness and welcome they had received, and amongst the treasures of memory would be that very pleasant afternoon. Sir William had the happy gift of true eloquence, which always came from earnestness.

The motion was carried with enthusiasm.

Sir William Brooks, in responding, said: It gives me unbounded pleasure to receive such kind thoughts expressed so ably and eloquently with regard to myself and my wife. Mr. Letherbrow very properly observed that the legislature has already given much time and attention to an Act for the preservation of ancient monuments, and I have much pleasure in assuring my brother antiquaries that in the House of

Commons there is a very large and strong body of men who are anxious to pass the most protective measures for the monuments of antiquity. There has been some difficulty with regard to what are called private grants, but I have no doubt at all that what has already been done will contribute to the preservation of those monuments which we value so much, and on which our affections are set. I must warn you that amongst all the destroyers of ancient monuments there is no such cruel and remorseless destroyer as the road surveyor. He is always anxious for metal to break up his roads, and if he sees within any reasonable distance an old building, he ruthlessly collars it and chops it up into metal. I know a case in Aberdeenshire where what we can trace to have been the foundations of an ancient city have been to a very great extent destroyed by a very well-meaning man, who has naturally the interests of the road trustees at heart, and desires to get good stone at the least expense. But I say to all of you, look out for the road surveyor. It is a very pleasing thing to remark what a powerful influence public observation has on such men. I remember when a boy going to Furness Abbey, and there I saw and lamented the continued destruction of that abbey, and it was not until the railroad came with the power of a thousand gazing eyes, that pressure was put on the Duke of Devonshire to prevent his tenants taking the stones to repair their buildings, and now he has put all round a fence that not even the most active of you, my brother antiquaries, can surmount—a perfectly unclimbable fence. No doubt as we go on our monuments will be yet more respected. The very flattering terms in which my name was mentioned has given me pleasure. I endeavour to deserve the very kindly feeling which has always been shown to me all my life through. Reference has been made to Glen Tana, and it will doubtless interest you to know that there is the inscription in Latin, "Wide open lie the doors, the heart yet more so." And it is in that spirit that I and my wife will gladly welcome any of my brother antiquaries should they

ever bend their steps so far as the forest of Glen Tana. And there I would hope to show to you the little church of which Mr. Letherbrow has spoken, and whose progress he has so well depicted; for true it is that when I went there that building had no roof on, almost no walls, certainly no lintel walls, but in the little shanties round about, the quick eye of our mason detected, either by the texture or something, that certain stones belonged to the church. Of all these stones (and I think it is a proud thing to say) all except one, on which the hand of man had ever been, were recovered and restored. Not only the walls have been rebuilt, but all the doors, gable sides, and all except one gable foot have fully been restored. I call the church St. Lesmo, though no trace of that good man's name can I find in the glen or anywhere about. Yet it is a pleasing thing for you and all of us to reflect, that, one thousand three hundred years after the saint's body was committed to the dust, the name of one who brought Christianity to Scotland will be again hallowed in the minds of all who approach that place of worship, and be handed down for centuries to come.

Friday, November 1st, 1889.

The monthly meeting was held in Chetham's College. Mr. J. P. Earwaker presided.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited an old Scotch dirk.

Mr. A. Nicholson exhibited a mezzotint portrait of Robin o' Green, of Burnley, a noted ballad singer.

Mr. Earwaker exhibited a tortoise-shell snuff-box formerly belonging to Barrit, the antiquary.

Mr. H. T. Crofton read the principal paper of the evening, on "Lancashire and Cheshire Coal Mining Records" (see p. 26).

After the paper a discussion took place, in which Messrs. Earwaker, Sandbach, Joshua Taylor, French, Yates, A. Nicholson, and others took part.

In the absence of Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman, his communication on a "Seventeenth-Century Flixton School Trust" was read by Mr. J. Holme Nicholson. Mr. Bateman said: Some day a separate history of Flixton may be required to be written. When that time arrives, the following unpublished particulars may be of interest and value. Towards the latter end of Charles the First's reign, viz., on the 3rd day of June, 1643, an indenture was entered into between Peter Egerton, of "Shagh [*alias* 'the Shaigh,' and 'Shaw Hall'] in the Countie of Lancaster, Esquire," of the one part and "George Smyth, of fflixton, John Warburton, Thom's Walkden, Lawrence Lee and John Lee de Le Stone of fflixton aforesayd . yeomen" of the other part, whereby it was witnessed that Mr. Egerton in consideration of "the great love & affection" that he "hath & beareth unto litterature & learninge, and for the advancem't thereof and to the end and Intent that a convenient place and schoole-howse may bee and continue within fflixton aforesayd for the teachinge and instructing of children and scholl'rs therein and within ye p[ar]ishe of fflixton and for divers other good causes and consid'ations him thereunto moveinge," leased to the other parties "All and singular that one cottage, messuage, ten[emen]te and dwellinghowse with its app'tenances scytuate . . . att and on the North side of the p[ar]ishe Church of fflixton . . . and adjoyninge to and unto the p'ish Churchyard of fflixton . . . conteyninge twoe bayes [ ] of buildinge and late in the tenure or occupation of Henry Mosse of fflixton . . . yeoman or his ass[ign]s ffor a Schoolehowse to teach children in togeather." The property was to be held by the lessees "and the survivors and survivor their heyrss exe'cors and ass[ign]s for and during the lyfe and lyves naturall of John Smyth, sonne of Richard Smyth, of fflixton . . . husband[man], Katherine Mosse now wyfe of the sayd Henry Mosse, and Richard Smyth, son of the sayd George Smyth of fflixton . . . yeoman and for and during the lyfe na[tu]rall of the longest lyver of them . . . To bee and continue a Schoole house for the teachinge and Instruc-

tion of ye children of the p[ari]sh of fflixton duringe the sayd tearme and not otherwyse." The rent reserved to Mr Egerton, and his heirs and assigns was the nominal one of "Thirteene pence," and was made payable half-yearly "att the ffeast daye of the Nat[ivit]ie of St. John Baptist and [that] of St. Martin the By[sho]p in Winter;" but another condition or consideration for the lease was the rendering yearly to the lessor and his representatives of the following exceptional service, viz., "one day drawinge of Turves with an able p'son, and one daye reapinge or shearinge or [should be 'of'] Corne with an able reap[er] or shearer of Corne in and upon the Demeasne lands of the sayd Peter Egerton now or hereafter to be belonginge to the Capitall Messuage of 'Shagh' aforesayd, for and in leiwe [lieu] and freed of all rents, boones, duties, suites, services, herriotts, and averages" in respect of the demised premises. Among other provisions in the lease is one stipulating that the lessees, who were of course really the school trustees, should not use, or allow to be used, the demised cottage for any other purpose than as a school house for the children of Flixton parish; and another requiring the trustees to keep the building in proper repair. The witnesses are Edward Woolmor (the Flixton clergyman), James Royle, John Erlam, John Perse, and Arnold Royle. Mr. Peter Egerton, the lessor, was high sheriff of Lancashire in 1641 (two years before the date of the lease), and as an active Parliamentarian, afterwards became a prominent figure in Lancashire public life. Some particulars of him will be found in Dr. Leech's paper (*Trans.* iv. 189, 190). May I add to the Shaw Hall estates notes, in that paper, a note that Peter Egerton's widow, Elizabeth, of the "Shagh," also (*e.g.* in 1657) sold or leased off lands at Flixton, and that she should be included in the list of successive owners of the Shaw estate. I may, finally, add that Peter Egerton was owner of the estate as far back as 1629 (before the death of the last Asshaw), as is evidenced by a lease in my possession, to be handed over to the Society along with the present document.

New members: Miss Katharine Axon, Mrs. Letherbrow, Messrs. W. J. Legh, W. Waithman Caddell, Robert B. Harker, James Wheeldon, John Dean, James D. Milne, John Burgess, John R. Jackson, John Maddock, Rudolph Dehn, Joseph Pearson, and Robert Wharton, and Captain H. Mant Worsley.

Friday, November 8th, 1889.

The Mayor and Mayoress of Manchester received the members of the Society at the Town Hall. There was a large and distinguished gathering, the interest of the occasion being increased by the fact that a lecture was delivered by Professor Sayce of Oxford, on "Letters from Syria and Palestine before the Age of Moses." After the reception,

The Mayor (Alderman Batty) took the chair, and was supported by the Mayoress, the Bishop of Manchester and Mrs. Moorhouse, the Ven. Archdeacon Anson, Professor Ward, Professor Wilkins, and others.

The Mayor congratulated the Society on the work in which they were engaged, and upon the distinguished assembly of that evening.

Professor Ward said that the days were now passed when antiquaries were looked upon as merely a harmless race, and the progress of time had shown that the pursuit of archæology had expanded the great science of history, of which archæology was only a corner. The general tendency of historical study had been to give great importance, almost preponderant importance, to the discovery and interpretation of documents and of the monuments of history. They were to have the pleasure of hearing a lecture from an antiquary of the latter-day type, and they were to learn from the hands of a master something more about the early footprints, or should he say handprints, of civilisation in a mysterious East. Mr. Sayce was a true son of the critical school of our age, and he would give them an example of the range to which the pursuits of the antiquarians might be carried.

Professor Sayce then read his paper (see p. 1).

The Bishop of Manchester, in moving a vote of thanks to Professor Sayce, said he could not tell what his personal obligations were to the lecturer. He was very curious indeed about the history of the remoter past, and Professor Sayce's books had always been to him like lights upon the path. That night the professor had brought before them a very remarkable revelation. All of them had very great interest in that great Phœnician race which really represented Great Britain in the days gone by, and which Professor Sayce would allow him to assume was identical with the Canaanite race of which he had been speaking. To him (Dr. Moorhouse) this was one of the most interesting of the races of the past, and the professor had announced a discovery which would give them an idea of the ordinary thoughts, of the daily transactions, of that race, and its connection with the two greatest peoples of the past, the Mesapotamian people on the one hand and the Egyptian people on the other. This was one of the grandest revelations he had ever heard. One of the things that Professor Sayce had told them was intensely interesting. They heard what the Canaanite race was while the Israelites were in servitude in Egypt, or away before that, when they were an authority and power in that land. They had heard of the coming of those mysterious Hittites. Professor Sayce was the only man who had given him what he thought was reliable information on the scanty records of the Hittites; how they and the Egyptians fought amongst the poor unfortunate Canaanites, and how the Canaanite race were debilitated and depressed, until, when the Israelites came, they found no possible resistance. This information made the story of the Israelites comprehensible. It not only corroborated the fact that it was in the main correct, but it showed why events occurred as they did. And surely if they had their old-fashioned notions replaced by a grander view of the constant superabundance of the Divine providence, they were not losing but gaining. Such lectures as

this made them believe in the Bible more deeply and spiritually, as well as more rationally, than ever before.

Professor Wilkins seconded the motion, and in doing so asked for further material help from Manchester towards the carrying on of the important and necessary work of the Egyptian explorations.

The motion was carried unanimously. A vote of thanks was passed to the mayor for his hospitality.

Saturday, December 7th, 1889.

The monthly meeting was held in Chetham College, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presiding.

The Rev. Canon Heywood, M.A., vicar of Swinton, and Mr. M. G. Glazebrook, M.A., high master of the Manchester Grammar School, were elected members of the Society.

Mr. A. Taylor exhibited and described some coins, pottery, and other Roman remains recently found at Lincoln, and Mr. J. D. Andrew exhibited a quit claim of the early part of the thirteenth century.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman presented to the Society several interesting documents, amongst which were a deed relating to the use of a pump and well then in the possession of Humphrey Trafford, Esquire, in Salford or in Manchester (dated 1686-7). Also the Original Sketch of Proposed Removal of Mr. Hartley from the Commission of the Peace (*temp.* Charles II.), and a Lease for School House at Flixton, for ninety-nine years, determinable on three lives (*temp.* Charles I., 1643).

A paper by Mr. Ernest Axon, on the "Bayley Family of Manchester and Hope," was read by Mr. W. E. A. Axon (see p. 193). After the paper an interesting discussion took place, in which Messrs. William Harrison, J. D. Andrew, Churchill, and A. Nicholson took part.

Mr. Sherriff exhibited a cashbook containing "An

Account of the funds in the hands of the Rev. Mr. J. Scholefield towards erecting a monument to the patriot Henry Hunt."

Mr. William Harrison made the following communication thereon: The account begins on October 2nd, 1840, when there was already in hand £27. 19s. 3½d. Collecting books appear to have been given out, but the amounts received are in general but small, as might be expected from the humble position of most of the contributors. Larger sums, such as 10s., come from National Charter Associations at Hebden Bridge, Todmorden, and Sheffield. The foundation stone of the monument was laid on March 25th, 1842. The Chartists of the district took the opportunity to get up a demonstration in honour of Feargus O'Connor. Assembling in Stevenson Square, they marched in procession round the town to Ardwick Green, where they met Mr. O'Connor, and then again round Manchester and Salford, not forgetting to play the Dead March when passing the site of Peterloo, until Mr. Scholefield's burial ground in Every Street was reached. Contemporary reports say that fifteen thousand persons were assembled in the neighbourhood of Every Street. A penny each was demanded for admission, but a large number forced their way in and many scaled the walls. The monument, an outline of which was sketched on a blackboard for exhibition, was to be in the form of an obelisk, and to be thirty feet high. The base was to be five feet eleven inches square, and the plinth on which it rested ten feet square. The spacious vaults underneath were intended as depositories of the remains of those who should distinguish themselves in promoting the principles of the late Henry Hunt. Beneath the foundation stone Mr. O'Connor deposited memoirs of Henry Hunt, the history of the Peterloo massacre, and his letters from Ilchester Gaol; also the placard announcing the ceremony, a likeness of Mr. O'Connor, and a copy of an address, which was subsequently read by Mr. Scholefield. In this account book we find frequent reference to the *Northern Star*, the Chartist newspaper, which was conducted

by Mr. O'Connor with so much success between 1838 and 1842. Mr. Abel Heywood alone, it is said, sold from his shop in Oldham Street at one time eighteen thousand *Stars* weekly. Mr. Heywood's name appears in the account book in connection with an item of £9. 19s. 9d., I think for tickets for a meeting or tea party, either at the Hall of Science or at Carpenters' Hall. There were tea parties and balls at the latter place in February and August, 1842, and in August, 1843. Among the other accounts is that of the contractor for the monument, amounting to £60, with extras £5. 5s. 6d. There is also a correspondence with a Staffordshire china manufacturer, who conceived the idea of making and selling small china models of the monument. These were offered white at 1s. 6d., stone colour at 1s. 4d., but the speculation does not appear to have succeeded, and the manufacturer, at the end of 1843, is found complaining that he has not been paid as promptly as he would have expected at the hands of Reformers. I should like to know whether any of these monuments are still in existence. The completing ceremony was interfered with by the Chartist riots in August, 1842. The 16th August, the anniversary of Peterloo, had been appointed, but on the 9th thousands of men flocked into Manchester and turned the workpeople out of the mills. Meetings of Chartist delegates were afterwards held, and on the 15th and 16th were dispersed by the police. Consequently, it was determined to complete the monument without ceremony of any kind.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman was unable to be present, and his paper on "The Lord Bateman of Lovinge Ballad Fame" was read by Mr. J. Holme Nicholson.

Mr. Charles W. Sutton exhibited and described a collection of the books and tracts of Richard Heyrick and of his colleague, Richard Hollinworth (see p. 134).

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUITIES, 1889.

[The following list of books and papers, published in the year 1889, on Lancashire and Cheshire antiquities, has been kindly compiled by Mr. Ernest Axon. As the titles had to be collected from scattered sources after the close of the year, the list is probably very imperfect; but any omissions that may be discovered may be inserted with the list for 1890, which it is intended to present with next year's volume.—EDITOR.]

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In presenting the seventh Annual Report to the members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, the Council has pleasure in recording that, both in respect of the papers read and the attendance at the meetings, the position of the Society has been maintained.

Meetings.—The winter sessions comprised meetings at which papers and communications were contributed on the following subjects:—

Jan. 11.—Notes on Ribchester. Mr. W. H. Heathcote.
,, 11.—Evidences of Christianity in the Northern Counties of England in the Fourth Century. Mr. Geo. Esdaile.
,, 25.—Address at Annual Meeting. Mr. W. E. A. Axon.
Feb. 8.—The Archæology and Psychology of Ornament. Dr. H. Colley March.
,, 8.—An Irish Analogue of Nixon's Prophecy. Mr. Wm. E. A. Axon.
Mar. 1.—The Early Evangelization of Northumbria up to the Synod of Whitby, A.D. 664. Rev. T. Boston Johnstone.
,, 1.—Report of Finds in the vicinity of Melandra Castle. Mr. Geo. Esdaile.
,, 1.—The Di Veteres of Britanno-Roman Altars. Dr. H. Colley March.
April 5.—An Analysis of the Contents of a Tudor MS. relating to the Suppression of Religious Houses in England and Wales, *temp.* Henry VIII., together with a Genealogical Notice of Dr. Thomas Legh, provincial visitor of the same. Dr. Renaud, F.S.A.
,, 5.—A Fresh Account of the Rebels in Manchester in 1745, from a MS. recently discovered. Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A.

April 5.—The Brass in Battle Church to Dr. John Wythens. Mr. Ernest Axon.

,, 5.—Account of the Discovery of a Prehistoric Canoe in the Diggings of the Manchester Ship Canal. Mr. G. C. Yates.

,, 26.—Unpublished Records of the Mosse Family of Skelmersdale during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

June 17.—Historical Documents at the Bridgewater Offices, Walkden. Mr. Holmes.

Oct. 11.—Address. Mr. W. E. A. Axon.

,, 11.—Notes of a Recent Visit to some of the Egyptian Explorations in Egypt. Miss Annie E. F. Barlow.

,, 12.—Leigh Church. Rev. J. H. Stanning.

,, 12.—Sir Thomas Tyldesley. Mr. J. E. Worsley, F.S.A.

,, 12.—The Leigh Grammar School Library. Mr. J. Ward.

,, 26.—Address by the President, Sir Wm. Cunliffe Brooks.

,, 26.—Barlow Pedigree. Mr. Geo. Esdaile.

,, 26.—An Old Barlow Document. Mr. T. Worthington.

,, 26.—Roman Family Coins. Mr. Nathan Heywood.

Nov. 1.—Lancashire and Cheshire Coalmining Records. Mr. H. T. Crofton.

,, 1.—A Seventeenth-Century Flixton School Trust. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

,, 8.—Letters from Syria and Babylon before the Age of Moses. Professor Sayce.

,, 16.—The Flinders Petrie Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. Professor Dawkins, F.R.S.

Dec. 6.—The Bayley Family of Manchester and Hope. Mr. Ernest Axon.

,, 6.—The Lord Bateman of Lovinge Ballad Fame. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

,, 6.—The Henry Hunt Monument. Mr. Wm. Harrison.

,, 6.—Bibliography of Richard Heyrick and Richard Hollinworth. Mr. C. W. Sutton.

The summer meetings consisted of visits to the following places: 1. Ashton Old Hall. 2. Middleton Church and Hopwood Hall. 3. Penrith, Keswick, &c. 4. Bridgewater Offices at Walkden. 5. Cheadle and Didsbury Churches and Peel Hall. 6. Isle of Man. 7. Northenden Church. 8. The Old Barn at Stand. 9. Radcliffe Church. 10. Astbury Church and Moreton Old Hall. 11. Castle Naze and Chapel-in-le-Frith Church. 12. Pott Shrigley Church and Hall. 13. Leigh. 14. Barlow Hall.

The extended excursion, which has usually been made during the Whitsuntide holidays to places of antiquarian interest beyond the boundaries of the two counties with which the Society is immediately concerned, was this year organised for visiting some

of the most interesting remains of antiquity in the lake country, Penrith and Keswick being taken as centres. About forty members and friends joined the excursion.

A second excursion of a similar kind was made, July 10th to 13th, to the Isle of Man, under the leadership of Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., and Rev. E. B. Savage, M.A. Details of both these excursions will be given in the Proceedings.

CONVERSAZIONE.—The Annual Conversazione was held on the 8th November in the Mayor's Parlour of the Manchester Town Hall, which was again kindly granted to the Society by the Mayor (Mr. Alderman Batty), who presided on the occasion. The Council had the good fortune to secure the services of Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, who gave a very interesting lecture on "Letters from Syria and Palestine before the Age of Moses," which will be published in the next volume of the Society's Transactions.

Many objects of antiquarian interest were exhibited at the conversazione, amongst which were a fine collection of Egyptian antiquities from the Stockport Museum, and these were excellently arranged and described by the Rev. C. G. K. Gillespie. A similar collection of Egyptian antiquities was exhibited by Miss Barlow, of Bolton. Mr. Thos. Oxley exhibited an interesting and valuable collection of Esquimaux curiosities. Mr. Wm. Grimshaw, arms, savage weapons, &c. Mr. A. Nicholson, a collection of local prints. Mr. J. R. Taylor, ancient arms and curious paintings on satin. Mr. G. C. Yates, a collection of chap-books, broadsides, autographs, and old engravings.

MEMBERSHIP.—During the past year twenty-five new members have joined the Society, of whom two are Life and twenty-three Ordinary Members. The Society has lost through death and other causes two Life and fourteen Ordinary Members. The number on the roll at the present time is forty-eight Life, two hundred and seventy-seven Ordinary, and five Honorary, total three hundred and thirty members.

The members who have died during the past year are Messrs. Richard H. Sutton, William Wiper, Joseph Evans, Joseph R. Taylor, James Taylor, Charles Hardwick, and F. W. Grafton.

Richard H. Sutton died on March 3rd. The following tribute to his memory was printed in *The Library* for April: "As

a bookseller, Mr. Sutton was a notable example of the best traditions of the trade, and displayed a literary taste and judgment in striking contrast to the merely commercial abilities of many of his brother tradesmen. His father, Mr. Thomas Sutton, was a well-known Manchester bookseller, and that he too had a love for the wares he dealt in, not measured by their market value, is evidenced by the fact that three of his sons chose to follow his example and spend their lives among books: one, the subject of this note, as a bookseller; another, Mr. Albert Sutton, also as a bookseller; and the third (eldest son), Mr. Charles W. Sutton, as a librarian, now the chief librarian of the Manchester Public Libraries. Mr. Richard H. Sutton was one of the original members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society and of the Library Association, and among the members of these societies, as well as among a larger circle of acquaintances, his gentle and thoughtful disposition won him many friends. His tastes were decidedly antiquarian, and his publishing ventures were chiefly of that character. Only a few days before his death he published an admirable reprint of Mrs. Raffald's curious and very rare first Directory of Manchester."

Joseph Evans, who died in June, at Hurst House, near Prescot, in his seventy-second year, was a life-member of the Society, and joined at its formation. Mr. Evans was lord of the manor of the south moiety of Parr, near St. Helens, and in 1882 served the office of high sheriff of Denbighshire.

William Wiper. The following obituary appeared in the *Publishers' Circular:* "We regret to announce the death on July 3rd of Mr. Wiper, a gentle bibliophile, whose modest home in Manchester was built round with choice and cherished books. He was a man of wide and cultured tastes, and though his means were small, he had by stern self-denial in other directions acquired a remarkably fine collection of first or early editions of the authors whose writings he chiefly appreciated. He has left behind him a special collection of old Quaker tracts, and a number of valuable books and pamphlets by or relating to the Lake poets and the county of Westmoreland, of which he was a native. Mr. Wiper had gathered valuable materials for a life of Richard Braithwaite (1588-1673), but with characteristic generosity he gave Mr. Leslie Stephen the results of his researches for the use of the *Dictionary of*

National Biography. Mr. Wiper was what Dr. Johnson would term an omnivorous reader, but only those who knew him intimately were aware of the exceptional range of his acquirements in this direction, for he had—like all true students—an instinctive repugnance to anything which looked like the mere parade of learning."

Charles Hardwick died on July 8th, 1889, at his residence, 72, Talbot Street, Moss Side, aged seventy-two. For many years he had been a well-known personage not only in Lancashire but throughout the kingdom, on account of his great services to the cause of friendly societies in general, and the Oddfellows' Order in particular. He was an original member of our Society, and it will be remembered that some years ago he acted as leader in an interesting excursion to Penwortham and its neighbourhood. He contributed several valuable papers to the *Transactions of the Historic Society*, chiefly on Roman remains in Lancashire; and besides his *History of Preston* (1857) he published works on *Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-Lore, chiefly of Lancashire and the North of England* (1872), and the *Ancient Battlefields of Lancashire* (1882).

Although Sir James Allanson Picton, F.S.A., who died on 15th July, 1889, aged eighty-three, had ceased to be a member of the Society, the Council cannot omit a record of his decease. He had on all occasions shown great courtesy to the Society on its visits to Liverpool and its neighbourhood. He was an ardent antiquary, a constant contributor to archæological societies and journals, the author of an extremely useful work, entitled *Memorials of Liverpool* (2 vols., 1873), and editor, among other works, of two valuable volumes of *Liverpool Municipal Archives* (1883-6). But his most conspicuous public services were in connection with the Liverpool Free Public Library, of which he was chairman from its foundation in 1853 until his death. Her Majesty the Queen recognised these services by bestowing knighthood upon him in 1881, and his native town has raised an enduring memorial of them in building the "Picton Reading Room."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The thanks of the Society are due to the feoffees of the Chetham Hospital for their kindness in permitting the use of rooms in the College for the meetings of the Society, and also to the President, Sir W. C. Brooks, M.P., and other gentlemen for their hospitable reception of the members on the occasion of their visits during the past year.

T. LETHERBROW, HON. TREASURER OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Dr. *General Statement of Income and Expenditure from 26th January, 1889, to 28th January, 1890.* **Cr.**

	£	s.	d.
To Balance from the Bank	15	14	1
,, Interest on £200 Corporation Bond	6	6	8
,, 42 Blank Cheques on Manchester and Salford Bank	0	3	6
,, Bank Interest	1	11	6
,, Cash, per Mr. Bateman, *re* Hull, the late collector	4	0	0
,, Subscriptions received:—			
262 at 10s. 6d. £137 11 0			
26 at £1. 11s. 6d. 40 19 0			
1 at £7. 7s. 7 7 0			
	185	17	0
	£213	12	9

	£	s.	d.
By Roberts and Sons, Printing	10	15	9
,, Millar, Printing Cards	0	11	6
,, Reporting	1	10	0
,, Cheque Book	0	2	1
,, Stamp on Mortgage	0	10	0
,, Deed Box	0	14	3
,, Soirée Expenses	8	14	6
,, Bank Commission	2	2	0
,, Expenses at Winter Meetings	7	15	0
,, Postages	19	18	6
,, Clerical Help, &c.	5	5	0
,, Manchester Press Co. for Printing vol. vi. of *Transactions*	78	0	0
,, Balance	77	14	2
	£213	12	9

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank	77	14	2
Invested with Corporation, at 3½ %	200	0	0

Audited and found correct,
WM. H. GUEST,
CHRISTOPHER WADSWORTH, } *Auditors.*
29th January, 1890.

RULES.

(Revised January 28th, 1887.)

1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. NAME, &C.—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. ELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall report to the next ordinary meeting the names of such candidates. At the next ordinary meeting thereafter following, the names of all the candidates so reported shall be put to the meeting for election as the first business following the reading and confirmation, or otherwise, of the minutes of the preceding meeting, and the election shall be determined by common assent or dissent, unless a ballot shall be called for in the case of any one or more of the candidates by any member then present. In case of ballot one black ball in five shall exclude. During the period of the year when the ordinary meetings are suspended, the Council shall have power to invite to general meetings any candidate whom they have resolved to recommend for election at the next ordinary meeting. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of

the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention on or before the 30th day of November, in that year.

4. HONORARY MEMBERS.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. HONORARY LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. SUBSCRIPTIONS.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. ENTRANCE FEE.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of one guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, in addition to the Past-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall

retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. MODE OF ELECTING OFFICERS OTHER THAN THE AUDITORS.—The Council shall in each year prepare a list of a sufficient number of members to fill the several offices becoming vacant at the close of the year. Any member desiring to nominate a member or members for election to any office in the Society, other than that of Auditor, shall send in the name or names of such persons, with their addresses, to the Honorary Secretary, in writing, not less than twenty-one days before the date of the annual meeting, such document being signed by himself as proposer and one other member as seconder. The Honorary Secretary shall send by post to every member whose address is known to him, not later than fourteen days before the meeting, an alphabetical list of all persons so nominated, including those nominated by the Council, with their addresses, and the names and addresses of their proposers and seconders, except those nominated by the Council, which shall be distinguished by an asterisk following their names. The election of officers shall take place at the annual meeting. In case of contest the election shall be by ballot.

11. RETIRING PRESIDENT.—Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council, and become a Vice-President.

12. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence among speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council imme-

diately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular, if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a Report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. ANNUAL MEETING.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. ORDINARY MEETINGS.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester, at 6-15 p.m., on the *first Friday* of each month from *October* to *April* for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. GENERAL MEETINGS.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16. EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. PUBLICATIONS.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back volumes of the Transactions and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
December 7th, 1888.	Abraham, Miss E. C., Grassendale Park, near Liverpool.
September 4th, 1883.	Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Agnew, W., J.P., Summer Hill, Pendleton.
July 26th, 1884.	Ainsworth, R. H., J.P., Smithills Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
March 7th, 1890.	Alexander, J. J., 20, Lansdowne Road, Didsbury.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Frank, J.P., Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne.
June 11th, 1886.	Andrew, J. D., Town Hall, Ardwick.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883.	Andrew, Walter J., Moss Side, Ashton-under-Lyne.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Mossley.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James, The Avenue, Patricroft.
March 21st, 1883.	Anson, Ven. Archdeacon G. H. G., M.A., Birch *Rectory, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886.	Arning, Charles, jun., West View, Victoria Park.
March 21st, 1883.	Arnold, W. T., M.A., 75, Nelson Street, Manchester.
April 15th, 1885.	*Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
December 4th, 1885.	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury.
April 14th, 1885.	Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Bolton.
November 5th, 1886.	Attkins, Edgar, 33, Princess Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., Armytage, Ashley Road, Bowdon.

October 12th, 1888.	Axon, Ernest, Armytage, Ashley Road, Bowdon.
September 26th, 1889.	Axon, Miss, Armytage, Ashley Road, Bowdon.
March 5th, 1886.	Bagshaw, Thomas, Eccles New Road, Salford.
March 21st, 1883.	*Bailey, Alderman W. H., Summerfield, Eccles New Road, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883.	Baillie, Edmund J., F.L.S., Chester.
June 10th, 1886.	Ball, Thomas, Eccles.
February 7th, 1890.	Barber, Robert, Winnatts Knoll, Prestwich.
January 11th, 1884.	Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.
June 17th, 1884.	Barlow, Miss, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton-le-Moors.
June 13th, 1885.	Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Barraclough, Thomas, C.E., 8, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Bateman, C. T. Tallent, Cromwell Road, Stretford.
April 14th, 1885.	Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887.	Baugh, Mrs., Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887.	*Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Heaton Norris.
July 30th, 1885.	Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles.
June 26th, 1883.	Baynton, Alfred, Gilda Brook Park, Eccles.
January 29th, 1885.	Berry, Charles F. Walton, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
December 7th, 1883.	Berry, James, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
July 31st, 1886.	Booth, James, Ebor Cottage, Byrom Street, Patricroft.
March 7th, 1890.	Bowden, Daniel, Lily Bank, Stretford.
September 4th, 1883.	Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883.	Bradbury, John, F.R.S.L., Palatine Bridge, Victoria Street, Manchester.
June 26th, 1883.	Bradsell, B. J. T., 12, Oswald Street, Hulme.
March 21st, 1883.	Bridgen, Thomas Edward, Oaklynne, Fallowfield.
November 5th, 1886.	Brimelow, William, 153, Park Road, Bolton.
May 7th, 1885.	*Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
October 7th, 1887.	Brooke, Alexander, Muswell Hill Road, Highgate.
September 28th, 1883.	Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester.
March 5th, 1886.	Buckley, George F., Linfitts House, Delph, Oldham.
May 22nd, 1886.	Bulkeley, E. W., F.R.H.S., *Advertiser* Office, Stockport.
September 26th, 1889.	Burgess, John, Queen's Road, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883.	Burton, Alfred, Ack Lane, Cheadle Hulme.
October 8th, 1886.	Bury, Judson S., M.D., Pendleton.
December 2nd, 1887.	*Butcher, S. F., Bury.

September 26th, 1889.	Caddell, W. Waithman, Clayton Vale House, near Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Carington, H. H. Smith, Stanley Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester.
May 2nd, 1885.	Carr, William, The Hollies, Newton Heath.
April 26th, 1889.	Charlton, Samuel, Sunny Bank, Eccles.
October 8th, 1886.	*Chesson, Rev. William H., Monton Road, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883.	Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, The Elms, Roehampton, S.W.
March 21st, 1883.	Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886.	Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield.
September 4th, 1883.	Colley, A. H. Davis, A.R.I.B.A., 48, King Street, Manchester.
December 3rd, 1886.	*Collier, Edward, 74, Yarburgh Street, Moss Side.
January 11th, 1884.	Collmann, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883.	Copinger, W. A., F.S.A., The Priory, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884.	Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool.
January 7th, 1887.	Cox, George F., 26, Cathedral Yard, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	†Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883.	Creeke, Major A. B., Westwood, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883.	Crofton, Rev. Addison, M.A., The Parsonage, Reddish Green, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883.	Crofton, H. T., 36, Brazennose Street, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886.	*Crompton, Alfred, jun., Dunsters, Bury.
March 21st, 1883.	Croston, James, F.S.A., Upton Hall, Prestbury.
March 21st, 1883.	Crowther, Joseph S., Endsleigh, Alderley Edge.
October 7th, 1887.	Curnick, H. D., Glendale, Alderley Edge.
March 21st, 1883.	Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Darbyshire, Alfred, F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	*Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883.	Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
September 26th, 1889.	Dean, J., 31, Market Place, Middleton.
November 2nd, 1883.	Dearden, J. Griffith, Wytham-on-the-Hill, Bourne.
September 26th, 1889.	Dehn, Rudolph, Olga Villa, Victoria Park.
March 21st, 1883.	*Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.C.L., F.R.S., Knowsley, Prescot.
April 1st, 1887.	De Trafford, Sir Humphrey F., Bart., Trafford Park, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	*Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London.

May 4th, 1883. Doody, C. C., Cannon Street, Manchester.
January 15th, 1886. Duncan, James, M.B., 24, Richmond Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.

March 21st, 1883. Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele.
October 8th, 1886. *Eastwood, J. A., 49, Princess Street, Manchester.
January 29th, 1885. Ecroyd, William, Spring Cottage, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883. Egerton, Hon. Algernon, Worsley Old Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Egerton, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford.
June 11th, 1886. *Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883. Esdaile, George, C.E., The Old Rectory, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
December 6th, 1889. Estcourt, Charles, F.C.S., 20, Albert Square, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.

May 4th, 1883. Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Mosley Street.
March 21st, 1883. ffarington, Miss, Worden, Preston.
March 21st, 1883. Faulder, W. Wareing, Ellerslie, Cheetham Hill.
December 5th, 1884. Finney, James, Solicitor, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Height, Rochdale.
October 8th, 1886. Fletcher, Dr. Richard, Gt. Clowes Street, Broughton.
March 31st, 1885. *Foljambe, Cecil G. Savile, M.P., F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark.
July 31st, 1886. Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton.
February 6th, 1885. French, Gilbert J., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885. French, Mrs., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885. French, Miss K., Newport Square, Bolton.
December 9th, 1886. *Frost, Robert, B.Sc., Bright Side, Altrincham.

May 4th, 1883. Gadd, Very Rev. Monsignor, St. Bede's College, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Gill, Richard, *Examiner* Office, Manchester.
December 2nd, 1887. Gillibrand, W., M.R.C.S., Parkfield House, Chorley Road, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Gillespie, Rev. Charles G. K., 2, Darwin Terrace, Derby.
December 6th, 1889. Glazebrook, M. G., M.A., Pendleton.
May 4th, 1883. Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side.
May 7th, 1885. Gradwell, Very Rev. Mgr., Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.

February 6th, 1885. Grafton, Francis, Sunnyside, Lancaster Road, Eccles.
January 11th, 1884. Grafton, Miss, Heysham Hall.
March 21st, 1883. Gratrix, Samuel, West Point, Whalley Range.
January 11th, 1884. Gray, Henry, 47, Leicester Square, London.
September 18th, 1885. Greenhough, R., jun., Church Street, Leigh.
March 21st, 1883. Greenwood, J. G., LL.D., Furness Road, Eastbourne.
April 2nd, 1886. *Grimshaw, William, Sale.
July 25th, 1885. *Guest, William H., 57, King Street, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886. Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883. Hadfield, E., Swinton.
November 7th, 1884. Hall, James, 79, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Hall, Major G. W., Town Hall, Salford.
October 9th, 1885. Hampson, Francis, Platt Cottage, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886. Hand, Thomas W., Free Library, Oldham.
September 2nd, 1889. Harker, Robt. B., 75, Sloane Street, Moss Side.
November 2nd, 1888. Harper, Jno., 25, Victoria Road, Fallowfield.
December 6th, 1889. Harrison, Fredk., 241, Cheetham Hill.
February 6th, 1885. Harrison, William, 112, Lansdowne Road, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. *Hartington, Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P., Devonshire House, London.
March 21st, 1883. Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Heape, Joseph R., 96, Tweedale Street, Rochdale.
June 13th, 1885. Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan.
March 31st, 1885. Heathcote, Wm. Hy., East View, Preston.
May 4th, 1883. Heginbotham, Henry, J.P., Stockport.
June 11th, 1886. Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., 8, Wardie Road, Edinburgh.
September 4th, 1883. Hewitson, Anthony, *Chronicle* Office, Preston.
December 6th, 1889. Heywood, Rev. Canon H. R., Swinton.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Oliver, J.P., Claremont, Manchester.
June 17th, 1884. Hodgson, Edwin, 40, Warwick Street, Hulme.
October 8th, 1886. Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton.
January 31st, 1889. Holland, John, Port Street, Manchester.
December 7th, 1888. Hornby, Miss Clara, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.
January 11th, 1884. *Houldsworth, Sir W. H., M.P., Norbury Booths Hall, Knutsford.
March 7th, 1884. Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. Scot., Grafton Place, Ashton-under-Lyne.
March 21st, 1883. Howorth, Henry H., M.P., F.S.A., Bentcliffe, Eccles.
March 4th, 1887. Hughes, T. Cann, B.A., 14, George Street, Moss Side.
March 21st, 1883. Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton.
December 2nd, 1887. Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., 28, Chorley New Road, Bolton.

June 11th, 1886. Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.

September 26th, 1889.	Jackson, Jno. R., 35, Claremont Road, Alexandra Park.
November 5th, 1886.	Jackson, Miss E. S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
May 4th, 1883.	Jackson, S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
December 3rd, 1886.	Jones, Rev. Harry Thompson, M.A., St. Stephen's Rectory, Salford.
April 11th, 1890.	Johnson, David, Albion House, Old Trafford.
September 28th, 1883.	Johnson, J. H., F.G.S., 73, Albert Road, Southport.
January 21st, 1886.	Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
May 2nd, 1885.	*Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
March 4th, 1887.	Johnstone, Rev. Thomas Boston, M.A., 116, Chorley New Road, Bolton.
February 8th, 1889.	Jordan, J. J., Manchester and Salford Bank, St. Ann Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	Jordan, Thomas L., M.R.C.S., 14, Lorne Road, Fallowfield.
May 2nd, 1885.	Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley.
March 21st, 1883.	Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
June 11th, 1886.	*Kay, Thomas, J.P., Hillgate, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883.	Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
January 10th, 1890.	Kynnersley, Thos. Fredk., Leighton Hall, Ironbridge, Salop.
March 7th, 1890.	Lancaster, Alfred, Free Library, St. Helens.
March 21st, 1883.	Langton, Robert, F.R.H.S., Albert Chambers, Corporation Street, Manchester.
October 12th, 1888.	Larmuth, George H., F.S.I., The Grange, Handforth.
March 21st, 1883.	*Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W.
March 21st, 1883.	*Lawton, Josh. F., J.P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
July 18th, 1885.	*Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham.
January 31st, 1890.	Laycock, Joseph, Brown Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range.
March 21st, 1883.	Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range.
December 7th, 1883.	Leech, Miss M. L., Reede House, Flixton.
April 26th, 1889.	*Lees, John W., Greengate, Chadderton, Oldham.
May 4th, 1883.	Lees, William, Egerton Villa, Heywood.
September 26th, 1889.	Legh, Wm. J., Lyme Park, Disley.
December 4th, 1885.	Letherbrow, Thomas, Lyme View, Norbury Moor, Stockport.
September 26th, 1889.	Letherbrow, Mrs., Lyme View, Norbury Moor, Stockport.

March 21st, 1883. Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath.
June 11th, 1886. *Lever, Ellis, Culcheth Hall, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. *Lister, Charles, J.P., Agden Hall, Lymm.
December 7th, 1888. Little, Rev. C. E., 2, Queen's Terrace, Old Trafford.
March 7th, 1890. Lomax, Rev. John, M.A., Cheetham Hill.
March 21st, 1883. Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Lowe, John, F.R.I.B.A., 22, Mansfield Chambers, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.
January 11th, 1889. Lowe, Rev. Charles, St. John's Rectory, Cheetham Hill.
September 4th, 1883. *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London.

September 26th, 1889. Maddock, Jno., 154, Smedley Road.
August 15th, 1885. *Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble.
October 7th, 1887. Manners, Thomas Hy., Cedar Villas, Mauldeth Road, Heaton Mersey.
March 21st, 1883. March, H. Colley, M.D., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
May 20th, 1885. March, Mrs., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Martin, William Young, M.D., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton.
November 5th, 1886. Massey, Arthur W., 27, Ackers Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock.
November 18th, 1884. Miller, William Pitt, Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
September 26th, 1889. Milne, James D., Lomond Ville, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883. Milner, George, 49a, Mosley Street, Manchester.
January 10th, 1890. Moeller, Victor, Derby Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Moorhouse, Frederick, Kingston Mount, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Morris, Claude J., The Mount, Altrincham.

March 21st, 1883. Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton.
October 7th, 1887. *Neville, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport.
June 26th, 1883. Newton, C. E., Timperley Lane, Altrincham.
September 4th, 1883. Nicholson, Albert, The Old Manor House, Sale.
March 21st, 1883. Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Whitefield, Wilmslow.
March 21st, 1883. Norbury, William, Rotherwood, Wilmslow.

July 26th, 1884. Oakley, Frank, The Deanery, Manchester.
May 20th, 1885. Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, M.A., Horton, Bowdon.
May 22nd, 1886. Odgers, Mrs., Horton, Bowdon.
January 31st, 1890. Ormerod, J. P., Castleton, near Manchester.
April 16th, 1886. †Owen, John, Kennedy Grave Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
April 2nd, 1886. *Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Alton Lodge, Hartley Wintney, Winchfield, Hants.

March 21st, 1883. Oxley, H. M., 97, Bridge Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, Thomas, Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
April 26th, 1889. Oxley, Mrs., Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.

July 26th, 1884. Paley, E. G., F.R.I.B.A., Lancaster.
May 22nd, 1886. Parkes, Rev. S. H., B.A., F.R.A.S., Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Parkinson, Richard, Barr Hill, Pendleton.
February 8th, 1889. Partington, J. Edge, Sarratt Hall, Rickmansworth.
October 8th, 1886. *Peace, Maskell William, 18, King Street, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Pearson, George, Southside, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pearson, Henry, Union Bank, Salford.
September 26th, 1889. Pearson, Joseph, 21, Peel Street, Salford.
September 4th, 1883. *Pearson, Thomas, Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
May 4th, 1883. Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pike, C. F., Bella Vista, Lostock Road, Urmston.
September 4th, 1883. Pilkington, Alfred, Oakwood, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Pocklington, Rev. J. N., M.A., St. Michael's Rectory, Hulme.
July 25th, 1885. Posnett, W. A., Park View, Chorley, Lancashire.
March 5th, 1886. Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme.
October 7th, 1887. Pullinger, William, Queen's Road, Oldham.

April 2nd, 1886. Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range.
April 14th, 1885. Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe.
December 7th, 1888. Redford, Walter J., Spring Place, Great Lever.
October 17th, 1884. Reid, David, Bowerbank, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge.
May 4th, 1883. Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., St. Mark's Rectory, Cheetham Hill.
March 21st, 1883. *Ridehalgh, Lieut.-Col. J.P., Fell Foot, Newby Bridge.
December 7th, 1883. Rigge, George Wilson, Police Street, Manchester.
September 29th, 1884. Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Madeley, Newcastle Staff.
June 11th, 1886. Robertson, John, Stoneleigh, Lees, Oldham.
December 22nd, 1884. Robinow, Max, Hawthornden House, Palatine Road, Didsbury.
September 4th, 1883. Robinson, John, 56, Church Street, Eccles.
May 2nd, 1885. *Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley.
February 4th, 1887. Roeder, Charles, Emsee Cottage, Amhurst Street, Derby Road, Fallowfield.
July 26th, 1884. *Roper, W. O., Lancaster.
May 4th, 1883. Rowbotham, G. H., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.

April 22nd, 1884.	Rudd, John, Sale Road, Northenden.
March 21st, 1883.	Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden.
March 21st, 1883.	*Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington.
May 4th, 1883.	Sales, Henry H., 68, Greame Street, Whalley Range.
May 4th, 1883.	Sandbach, J. E., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
December 7th, 1883.	Scholes, James C., 46, Newport Street, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Schou, Nicolai C., 40, South King Street, Manchester.
April 14th, 1885.	*Schwabe, Charles, Glenthorne, Whalley Range.
October 9th, 1885.	Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey.
June 26th, 1883.	Scott, Fred, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Shaw, Giles, 72, Manchester Street, Oldham.
November 7th, 1884.	Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury.
November 18th, 1884.	Sherriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton.
June 26th, 1883.	Shuttleworth, John, Withington.
March 21st, 1883.	Smith, C. C., Birchfield, Swinton.
January 11th, 1884.	†Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood, Kent.
March 7th, 1884.	Smith, David, J.P., Highfield, Schools Hill, Cheadle.
May 22nd, 1886.	Smith, Fredk. Ford, Lime Grove, Brooklands.
October 8th, 1886.	Smith, Thomas E., 189, St. George's Road, Bolton.
June 11th, 1886.	Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, Didsbury.
October 7th, 1887.	Smith, William, M.D., Eccles.
January 11th, 1889.	Smith, Wm. Jas., 71, Lord Street, Leigh.
April 5th, 1889.	Smithies, Harry, 367, Waterloo Road, Cheetham.
October 7th, 1887.	Southam, George Armitage, Oakfield, Pendleton.
November 18th, 1884.	Standen, Robert, 40, Palmerston Street, Moss Side.
March 21st, 1883.	Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Beech House, Knutsford.
March 21st, 1883.	Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire.
June 26th, 1883.	Steinthal, E. F. L., 81, Nelson Street, Manchester.
October 9th, 1885.	Stephenson, D., Fulshaw Lodge, Wilmslow.
June 26th, 1883.	Stern, Miss, 7, Duke Street, Monton Street, Greenheys.
July 26th, 1884.	*Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster.
March 21st, 1883.	†Sutton, Charles W., 14, Park View, Chorlton Road, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883.	Swindells, John, 38, Faulkner Street, Manchester.
April 2nd, 1886.	*Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
June 1st, 1887.	Tattersall, Cornelius, Rock Bank, Eccles.
October 12th, 1888.	Tatton, Thos. E., Wythenshawe Hall.
November 7th, 1884.	Taylor, Alexander, St. Mary's Place, Bury.

March 21st, 1883.	Taylor, Henry, Braeside, Tunbridge Wells.
January 7th, 1887.	*Taylor, James, Oak Leigh, Worsley Road, Swinton. (Deceased.)
October 8th, 1886.	Taylor, J. R., Sandheys, Ashton-on-Mersey. (Deceased.)
March 21st, 1883.	Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden.
February 7th, 1890.	Taylor, William, 76, Chorley Old Road, Bolton.
December 6th, 1889.	Teggin, William, 32, Booth Street, Manchester.
October 12th, 1888.	Thomasson, J. S., 9a, St. Peter's Square.
February 8th, 1889.	Thornycroft, C. E., Thornycroft Hall, Chelford.
May 4th, 1883.	Thorp, J. Walter H., Jordan Gate House, Macclesfield.
November 5th, 1886.	†Tinkler, J. E.
March 21st, 1883.	Tonge, Rev. Canon Richard, M.A., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883.	Toole, Very Rev. Canon Lawrence, D.D., St. Wilfrid's, Manchester.
November 2nd, 1888.	Towle, J. A., 392, Lower Broughton Road, Lower Broughton.
June 30th, 1885.	*Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Stanley House, Clitheroe.
October 8th, 1886.	*Tristram, Wm. H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton.
February 5th, 1886.	Turner, William, Westlands, Plymouth Grove.
July 31st, 1886.	Underdown, H. W., North Leigh, Whalley Range.
October 8th, 1886.	Virgo, Charles G., Queen's Park, Manchester.
December 7th, 1883.	Waddington, Wm. Angelo, Carlton Road, Burnley.
June 13th, 1885.	Wadsworth, Christopher, Sparthfield, Newton Heath.
July 31st, 1886.	Wales, George Carew, Conservative Club, Manchester.
April 11th, 1890.	Wallace, James, Ashwood Lodge, Headingley, Leeds.
March 21st, 1883.	Walter, William, M.A., M.D., 20, St. John Street, Manchester.
November 6th, 1885.	Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham.
May 4th, 1883.	Ward, Prof. A. W., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883.	Ward, James, Leigh.
June 11th, 1886.	*Waters, Edwin H., Green Bank, Langham Road, Bowdon.
July 31st, 1886.	Watson, W. Alfred, 18, George Street, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
October 12th, 1888.	*Watt, Miss, Speke Hall, near Liverpool.
May 4th, 1883.	Webb, Richard, 34, Grafton Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.
September 26th, 1889.	Wharton, Robert, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
September 26th, 1889.	Wheeldon, James, Brooklands.
March 21st, 1883.	Wieler, Miss R. C., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
November 2nd, 1883.	Wilkins, Professor A. S., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.

March 21st, 1883. *Wilkinson, Thomas Read, The Polygon, Ardwick.
July 31st, 1886. Wimpory, Alfred, Altrincham.
June 26th, 1883. Wood, Joseph, 22, Victoria Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. *Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Penrhos House, Rugby.
November 18th, 1884. Woodhouse, Rev. Canon Charles W., 65, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
April 11th, 1890. Woodhouse, Samuel T., Abbotsley, Knutsford.
September 26th, 1889. Worsley, Capt. Mant, Bridge Street, Manchester.
April 11th, 1890. Worthington, Edward N., Granville Road, Fallowfield.
May 4th, 1883. Wright, T. Frank, The Airds, Bennett Street, Higher Crumpsall.
December 22nd, 1884. Wylie, J. H., M.A., Heybrook, Rochdale.

March 21st, 1883. †Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester.

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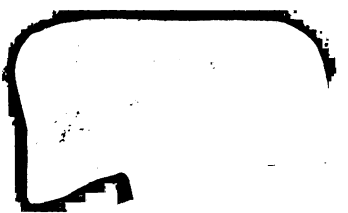
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